Special Election Issue

Clean Energy: Texas trumps CA

California JOURNAL

OCTOBER 2002
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ELECTION 2002

Where have all the choices gone?

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United We Stand

California Correctional Peace Officers Association

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California JOURNAL
October 2002
Volume XXXIII, Number 10

Up Front
Web deception

Talking Points
Coin contest

Rostrum
Readers sound off

Public Opinions
Voter disenchantment

D.C. Perspective
Social Security
By Dana Wilkie

Farewell

Journalism is a calling. That means it takes more than brain power alone, it also takes a lot of heart. For the past five years, Kathleen Les has been an integral piece of the heart here at *California Journal*. With this issue, we say a fond and sad farewell to Kathy, who is leaving us. Her dedication to this magazine as a writer, editor, researcher, page designer and creator has been a constant source of inspiration to all of us. She leaves an opening that will be difficult to fill, but she also leaves us with a little less heart.

David Lesher

The choice for governor

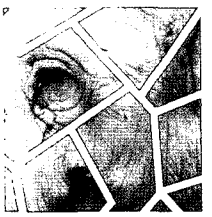
Polls show Governor Gray Davis is more vulnerable than ever. So why haven't Republicans been able to take advantage of the opening?
By David Lesher and Lou Cannon

Election 2002 preview

Of 157 races for Congress, the state Senate and Assembly, only nine shape up as competitive, thanks to the latest redistricting plan. *California Journal* takes a close look at each of the nine, while also providing a complete list of candidates and relevant registration information for all 157 contests. We also take a detailed look at the races for constitutional office and the fall ballot propositions. See pages:

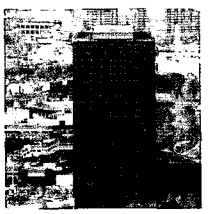
15 Constitutional offices
19 Board of Equalization
21 Congress
23 State Senate
25 Assembly
32 Ballot measures

Election wasteland



September 11 increased national pride and patriotism, so why aren't voters demonstrating that by going to the polls?
By Dan Schnur

Metropolitan breakup

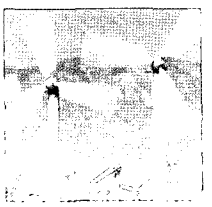


Former *LA Times* columnist Scott Harris initially derided talk of splitting off the vast San Fernando Valley from Los Angeles. Now he's ready to eat crow if Valleyistas prevail in November.
By Scott Harris

Oil axis

Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown attended the recent World Summit on Sustainable Development in South Africa and found a surprising alignment of oil interests: Iran, Iraq and the U.S.
By Jerry Brown

Clean energy



Governor Gray Davis recently signed an ambitious bill to double the state's clean energy consumption, but California is still behind — of all places — Texas as a leading alternative-energy state.
By Peter Asmus

Cover: California's Death Valley

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umbrage

Name change. State Sen. Jack O'Connell (D-San Luis Obispo) is always good for a quip. So when asked recently how his campaign for superintendent of public instruction was progressing, O'Connell replied: "Fine, but I wish my last name was 'undecided.'"

Web theft. Incumbent Assm. John Dutra (D-Fremont) is well known in his hometown after serving in local government and running a successful business. But as the *San Jose Mercury News* reports, Dutra has lost at least one chunk of his identity — on the Internet. Dutra's Republican opponent in AD 20, Dan Dow, has bought the rights to johndutra.com, johndutra.net and johndutra.org. And Dow is using the sites, the paper notes, either to attack Dutra directly or to redirect surfers to his own Web site. Dow says it's smart politics. Dutra says it's unethical. Meanwhile, the incumbent likely will have the final revenge. Democrats hold a 20-point voter registration edge in the East Bay district, and Dow's chances of winning the election hover just above nil.

Ambition revealed. Perhaps he didn't really mean it to read this way, but Assm. Dario Frommer (D-Glendale) issued a press release last month that seemed to give the rookie lawmaker a new and vastly more important job. The release was headlined: "Legislature Sends Governor Frommer Internet Tobacco Bill."

Tree house. Julia Butterfly may have come down from her perch atop an old-growth redwood to seek fame and fortune on the lecture circuit, but that doesn't mean that the Freshwater Creek watershed in Humboldt County is suddenly a ghost town. Two more tree-sitters have taken up residence. "Remedy" and "Wren" (not their real names) have been nestled in among the owls and squirrels for five and three months, respectively. Singer Joan Baez visited the site in August, serenading from the ground as the sitters listened from their ... uh ... balconies.

The tough problems. Nice to see that the Legislature tackled the state's weighty problems during its final month in business. Like the gutsy little number introduced by Assm. Russ Bogh (R-Cherry Valley). His bill — ACR 233 — was a resolution to honor Medal of Honor recipients. It passed unanimously, even in an election year. In all fairness, Bogh also authored AB 1965, which grants free tuition at California public colleges and universities to medal recipients and their children. It also passed and was signed by the governor.

Public service announcement. Tired of the same-o, same-o campaign gunk fired your way by every candidate with a spin doctor? Trying to find a few words about, say, the American Independent Party candidate for attorney general? Then check out The California Channel on cable. The California Channel is giving free air time to candidates for all constitutional offices — including Board of Equalization — and is providing a tutorial on all ballot props and the much-ignored Supreme Court confirmation vote. For more information and schedules, call James Gualtieri at (916) 444-9792.

Correction: A September 2002 story mistakenly quoted Proposition 52 sponsor Rob McKay saying he "helps finance numerous left-wing causes." The quote should have been attributed to critics of the proposition.

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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a monthly, non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The Journal is available on-line through StateNet, Nexis/Lexis and Westlaw. It is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts and Urban Affairs Abstracts. California Journal (ISSN 0008-1205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $59.00; Corporations and Associations, $95.00; Special Individual rate, $43.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

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Periodicals postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816.

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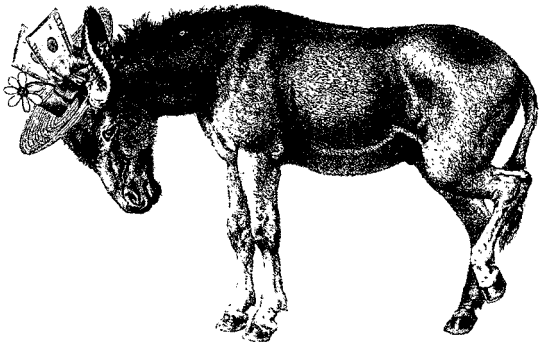
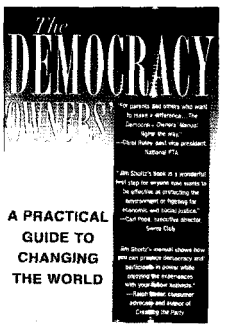
Fund Raising Watch:

Bucking the money trend



Even more astounding than the fact that men outnumber women by more than two-to-one in California's Legislature is the disparity in fund raising. In 1998, the top five winning male Assembly candidates raised four times more money than the top five women. Bettina Duval, a mother of four from Santa Monica, intends to change that. Using the networking strategy and fund-raising techniques she learned while working for EMILY's List — the national group that raised $9.3 million in the 2000 elections for pro-choice Democratic women running for Congress and governor — Duval has quietly started a parallel group called The California List. So far just 75 donors have been pulled into the new network, but that's sure to change over the next few years. The first two beneficiaries are Barbara Matthews (AD 17) and Christine Kehoe (AD 76). Both are running in closely contested races where a little extra money could make the difference, says Duval.



Excerpts:

From the bookshelf

The Democracy Owner's Manual
A Practical Guide to Changing the World
By Jim Shultz
Rutgers University Press

It is with a touch of irony — given the elections just around the corner — that we call your attention to the latest work by grassroots organizer Jim Shultz. The Democracy Owner's Manual is a hands-on guide to help citizens play a more participatory role in democracy. It's not just about voting, says Shultz. It's about weighing in where the real business of politics happens — at local school boards, water district meetings and in legislative subcommittees. The book offers practical advice on how to organize, lobby and raise money while otherwise agitating for social change. If all else fails, there's always an initiative, he points out. But pay attention to Shultz's organizing principles and you just might save the time and hassle of raising millions of dollars and collecting thousands of signatures for a statewide campaign.

Money Watch:

Two bits

laexaminer.com

The governor's office has issued a challenge to all creative Californians: What image would best represent the Golden State on a quarter? It is conducting a contest to choose the design that will appear on the quarter to be issued in 2005 as part of the U.S. Mint's Fifty State Commemorative Coin Program. Entry forms available at www.governor.ca.gov must be submitted by November 9. A winner will be selected by March 2003. State officials are expecting hundreds of entries. But one idea they probably were not expecting came from laexaminer.com, a Web site that compiles California news summaries. Its design, which teases Governor Gray Davis for his heavy fund raising, was a popular Republican e-mail attachment.

— Compiled by CJ Editors

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letters

Hospital retrofit

Susan Rasky ["Rx: Hospital Retrofit," July 2002] correctly noted that a RAND Corporation study last year found that 40 percent of California's hospital buildings would be at risk of collapse in a major earthquake.

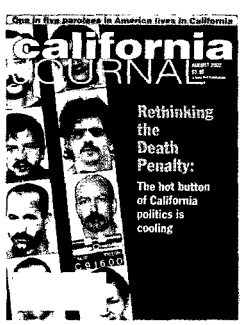
For more than 30 years, California's hospital industry has fought every legislative and regulatory attempt to improve the seismic safety of hospital buildings. The industry's gross indifference to public safety has been on display in countless hearings as its spokespersons have lobbied for weaker safety standards, delays, extensions and grandfather clauses.

The wake-up call came during the San Fernando earthquake of 1971. Two hospitals collapsed, killing 47 people. That produced the Hospital Seismic Safety Act of 1973, which established uniform building codes and put the industry on notice that hospitals "must be reasonably capable of providing services to the public after a disaster."

The effectiveness of that effort was on display 21 years later when the Northridge Earthquake struck. Two of the four hospitals that were forced to close were built to modern quake standards. Fourteen other hospitals had to curtail operations. More than 1,000 patients were evacuated, 2,500 beds were made unavailable for quake victims and 18 hospitals couldn't accept ambulances on the first day after the quake struck.

That is an appalling record. We can expect similar chaos when the next major quake strikes a populated area.

Stephen Green
Fair Oaks


One in five parolees in America lives in California
california
JOURNAL
Rethinking the Death Penalty:
The hot button of California politics is cooling

Susan Rasky inaccurately reported the looming financial impact of California's hospital seismic safety mandate on the state's 470 general acute care hospitals.

Ms. Rasky states that a recent study by the RAND corporation found that the cost of seismically retrofitting California's hospitals is $3 billion. This is a misinterpretation of the report. The RAND study gave a range of costs to meet the seismic mandate. The low end of the cost range is $80 million, but this figure is based on a scenario that is unrealistic and cannot be accomplished. On the high end, RAND estimated that if all hospital buildings in California were rebuilt and furnished with all new equipment, the costs of the seismic mandate could reach as high as $41 billion. However, no one in the hospital industry has ever endorsed this scenario.

Readers respond:

"The industry's gross indifference to public safety has been on display in countless hearings as its spokespersons have lobbied for weaker safety standards, delays, extensions and grandfather clauses."

— Stephen Green

The California Healthcare Association estimates the total cost to meet the seismic mandate is $24 billion. This figure assumes that some hospitals will retrofit, some will rebuild and others will close.

The hospital seismic mandate is a complicated policy issue that will have a major impact on access to care. Finding workable solutions that balance the need for the improved safety of hospital buildings and access to care is essential. Equally important to this debate is the use of correct facts and figures.

C. Duane Dauner, President
California Healthcare Assn.

Death penalty

Ignoring the moral issue of the death penalty ["The Death Penalty," August 2002], wouldn't it be economically advantageous to have "life without parole," barring all the legalistic shenanigans of constant appeals and court appearances, which serve to delay the death sentence? I note that 22 prisoners have died while waiting. The main issue is to prevent the convicted felon from committing further crime.

Meanwhile, the convicted live far better lives than the people who live on the streets. They are warm and dry, have clean clothes, food to eat and a bed to sleep in. Some of the money could serve a more useful purpose by providing alcohol and drug rehabilitation, education and job training to the street people and parolees, after-school and anti-gang activities for juveniles — further reducing crime — with less need for the death penalty.

Jean Dewey
Quartz Hill

Rostrum continued on page 31

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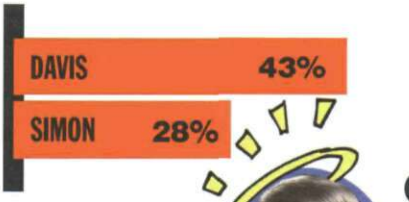
None of the above

President Bush campaigns for Simon in California.

Not many Californians are happy about this year's choices for governor. Republicans are less satisfied than Democrats or independents, but at least half of all political groups say they're unhappy. Strikingly, Latino voters were almost the reverse of the state trend, with more than half saying they are satisfied. Both major candidates have also been scarred by ethics charges — Governor Gray Davis for his fund raising and GOP challenger Bill Simon for his business record. But voters see a clear difference between the two, which experts attribute to Davis' heavy use of television ads and the absence of Simon commercials.

VOTER SATISFACTION

MOST ETHICAL



PPIC poll, 8/21/02

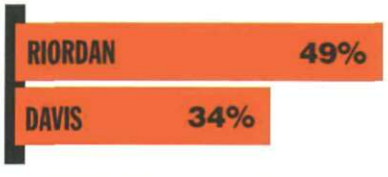
crosstabs

Year of the undecided voter

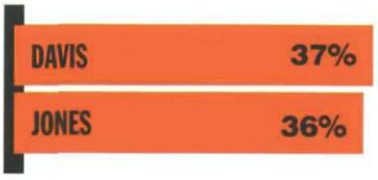
Davis, seated next to Michael Eisner, speaking at the California Economic Summit held at Walt Disney studios.

California hasn't seen a governor's race like this in decades. In the last 20 years, incumbents have won re-election by wide margins. But this time, support for Davis is dropping. The number of undecided voters also is increasing as the election nears, reversing the normal trend. Meanwhile, this poll shows both of the GOP candidates who lost the March primary would be better competition for Davis, and former LA Mayor Richard Riordan would be a frontrunner.

PREFERENCES FOR GOVERNOR DAVIS V. RIORDAN

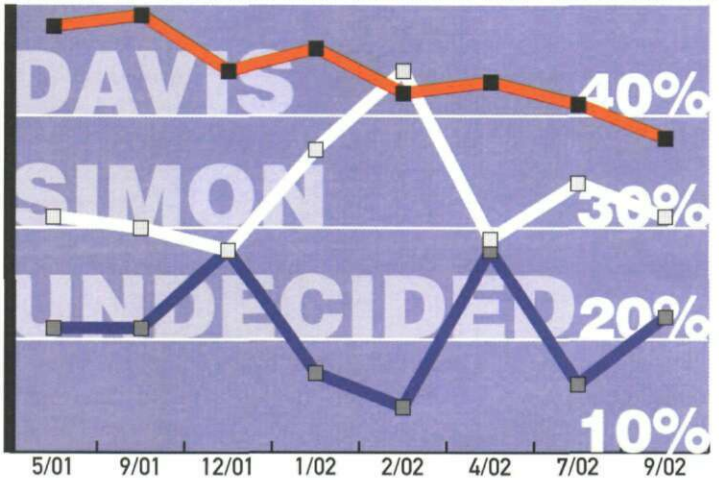


PREFERENCES FOR GOVERNOR DAVIS V. JONES



The Field Poll

TREND OF VOTER PREFERENCES FOR GOVERNOR



The Field Poll, 9/3/02

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ELECTION 2002

Most voters don't like this year's choices for governor, polls show. But will they blame the flaws of two individuals or a broken electoral system?

CALIFORNIA'S WRETCHED CHOICE FOR GOVERNOR

By David Lesher and Lou Cannon

It's easy to understand why Bill Jones, a former Republican leader in the Legislature and then California's secretary of state for the past eight years, decided to run for governor. He followed a well-worn path to the state's high office.

And Richard Riordan, a popular two-term Republican mayor of Los Angeles, had a record and a base within proven reach of the governor's office.

But why did Bill Simon get in? He'd never run for anything before. And in the 12 years since he moved to California, he didn't even vote in 13 elections.

Since Simon beat Jones and Riordan in the March primary, however, his motivation is important to understanding why California voters complain about such a wretched choice for governor this year. It also provides insight into the continuing struggles of the California GOP, as well as the increasing involvement of millionaire candidates like Simon.

When Simon is asked why he chose to run, he begins by reciting the charities he's sponsored and recalling his first and only public sector job as an assistant U.S. attorney in New York City. Like his father, the former U.S. treasury secretary, William E. Simon Jr. also said he expected to end up in government "at some point."

But in an interview, he's reminded that there is a big difference between *public service* and *elected office*. "That's the truth," he laughs.

So why choose elected office — especially this one? "There weren't a lot of people who were interested in running for governor," he explains. "If I really felt there was somebody out there I could have gotten behind, then things might have been different."

That's the way the Republican ball bounces these days. It loops and rolls and drops in somewhere, not necessarily where anybody would have wanted it. Many rank-and-file Republicans despair about their party's decision to nominate a neophyte conservative with a target-rich business background.

As it turns out, Democratic Governor Gray Davis is more vulnerable than even the most optimistic GOP predictions, providing an enormous opportunity for a party that is struggling to prove that it's still viable in California.

"The great failure of the Republicans is that they have fielded neither a credible candidate nor a credible campaign in a race they could have won," said Tony Quinn, a GOP consultant with no connection to the campaign.

Even Simon must have had second thoughts about his decision after one of the most bruising and one-sided summers in the history of California campaigns. He has made so many mistakes that Sal Russo, his principal campaign consultant, described him as a "pin-cushion" for the opposition, even as he was predicting that Simon would beat Davis. By August, Simon had been reduced to assuring a radio interviewer that he had the "moral courage" to go on.

The bad news began with a mysterious leak that named Simon as part of an IRS investigation into offshore tax shelters. Simon then botched the release of his tax returns, gaining more attention for his restrictive rules than the unblemished documents. Finally, the big whammy — a jury found in July that his family business defrauded a partner, who also turned out to be a convicted drug dealer.

Simon denied the charges, and he was vindicated in

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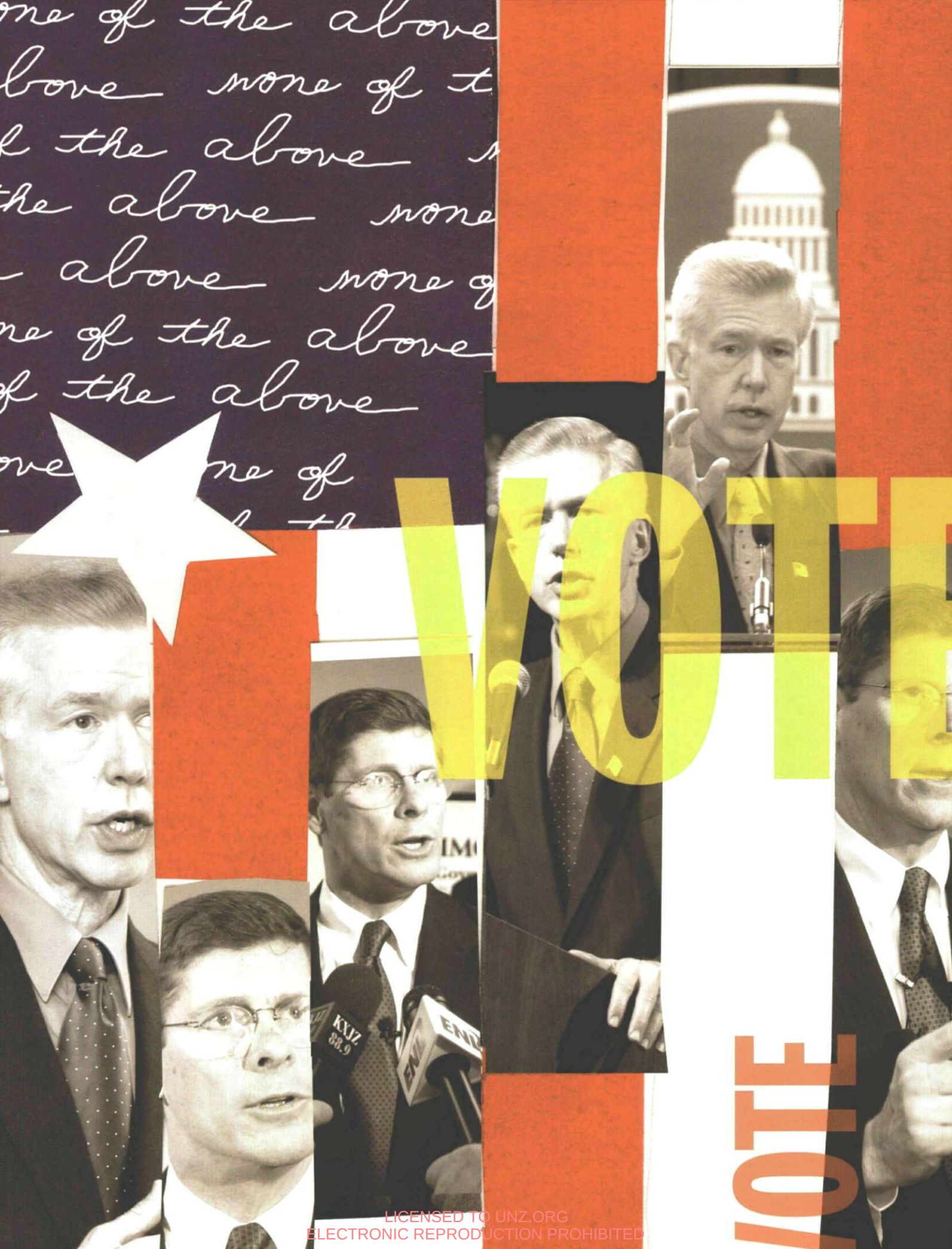

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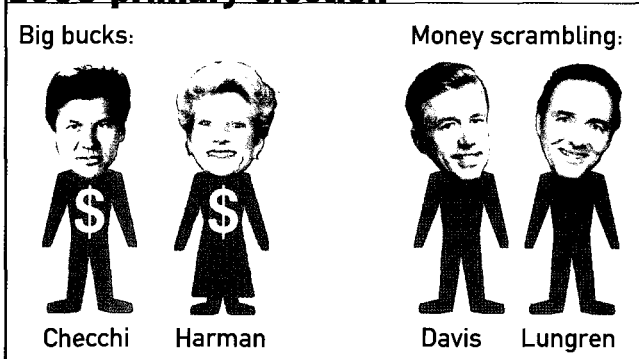
September when a judge threw out the verdict. But his political recovery depends on whether voters see a clean victory. And Democrats insist the unanimous jury verdict is still an issue.

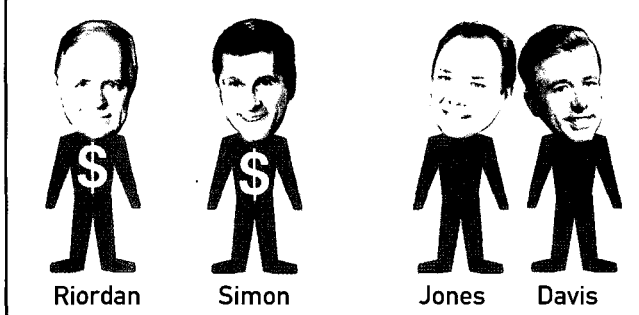
The Millionaires Club

The cost of running for office in California has grown so rapidly that the field of candidates is increasingly becoming a millionaires club. Looking at major candidates in the past two gubernatorial races and those lining up for the next one, rich guys outnumber the others.

1998 primary election



2002 primary election



2006 primary lineup

The wretched choice

The days after the verdict were happy ones for Davis, who might have sat back and watched his opponent implode. Instead, Davis poured it on, blasting Simon with nearly $15 million in television attack ads that synchronized perfectly with the national outrage over Enron, Global Crossing and other tales of business corruption.

Even after his dreadful early campaign, however, Simon remained competitive. Polls showed that voters didn't like much about Simon but had so little regard for Davis that he hardly benefited from his opponent's drubbing.

By Labor Day, the front-running governor was scratching to get 40 percent support among likely voters. He and Simon combined barely claimed the support of two-thirds of the electorate. Only a third of voters said they were satisfied with the choices. And in a sharp reverse of normal trends, the number of undecided voters was *increasing* as the election approached.

"I've never seen anything like it," said Bill Carrick, a veteran Democratic consultant with no connection to the campaign. "Usually, when one candidate's approval rating falls, his opponent's approval rating rises. That's not happening in this race."

The analysis by Simon consultant Russo is even bleaker. "Majorities of voters would prefer another candidate," he said in August. "With Davis, they know him and don't like him; with Simon, they don't know him and don't like him."

An aberration or a trend?

So how did we get here? In a state as big and rich as California, with a tradition of setting national trends and a history of creating political giants, this scene defies logic. Here are some of the explanations:

- The Republican Party is disintegrating due to demographic changes, extreme politics or bad luck. The GOP now faces the sobering prospect that it may not hold a single statewide office after the election.
- Some blame the high cost of campaigns, which have skyrocketed to the point that little chance is given any candidate who is not well known or rich. Four of the seven major-party candidates who have filed for governor in the last two elections are multimillionaires. The other three were statewide officeholders.
- The response of Californians to the limited choices has been to stay away from the polls. Voter turnout in the primary was an all time low of 33 percent; it is widely predicted that the general election turnout will also set a negative record.

"Obviously, this is due to a lot of reasons," said Leon Panetta, President Bill Clinton's former chief of staff and a retired California congressman. "I operate on the principle that we govern by leadership or crisis. And if leadership is not there, ... then I think change ultimately rests with the people."

Panetta exemplifies one reason the field of candidates is so limited. He considered a campaign for governor in

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imon visiting a church in Sacramento

1998 and doesn't rule it out in the future. But more than four years before the next race, a prominent Democratic consultant all but dismissed Panetta's chances and even those of Democratic Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante because they already lag in fund raising and would almost certainly face well-heeled officeholders or even wealthier outsiders.

"It's one of the things that kind of feeds into the discouraging picture," Panetta said.

Davis carries fund-raising scars

All of the mega trends under way in California are on display in the match between Simon and Davis. But whether the public response is outrage or indifference may depend on whether the blame falls on the flaws of two individuals or whether these candidates are considered the natural product of a broken electoral system.

Davis has excelled in the current system, shattering previous financial records and creating a formidable campaign advantage. But as his poor standing among voters demonstrates, he also carries deep scars from what he considers the necessary evil of fund raising. To raise nearly $60 million since he took office, the governor has unavoidably mixed fund raising with nearly any policy decision that crosses his desk.

Davis insists that he is not influenced by the money, as demonstrated by many decisions that were unfavorable to contributors. "I'm proud of the fact that ... virtually every major donor to me has experienced one or two vetoes he didn't want to see," the governor said in an interview. But Davis has also created a bipartisan reputation — as Simon puts it — of being a "pay to play" governor.

A farm worker rally at the state Capitol in August demonstrated the governor's tarnish. Davis, a lifelong champion of the farm workers, was undecided about a bill that pitted farm workers against the political power of the agriculture industry. At the rally, the Democratic lieutenant governor portrayed Davis as a governor putting campaign contributions over principles and allies.

"Justice over injustice, people over money," Bustamante roared. Characteristically, Senate President pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco) put it more bluntly: "It's a clear thing, a choice between farm workers and the big money in agriculture."

Numerous financial conflicts have been raised about Davis decisions involving Hollywood, technology, timber, labor, Indians, teachers and others. Today, his problems are an applause line for critics and a punch line for columnists like Steve Lopez of the *Los Angeles Times,* whose column once quoted a favorite joke of Peter Camejo, the Green Party candidate for governor.

Question: Do you know how to get Gray Davis to change his position on an issue?

Answer: Tell him the check bounced.

In an interview, Davis sidestepped several questions about whether such impressions bother him. He said he often receives money from interests on both sides of an issue. And in some of the most controversial cases, Davis said he was not involved.

The biggest of the latter such controversies involved Oracle computers. A $25,000 campaign check was handed to a Davis aide by an Oracle lobbyist who had just secured a costly state contract. When an audit concluded that the contract was unnecessary and overpriced, Davis fired four of his top officers.

In another case targeted by Simon, a panel of Davis appointees reversed themselves and approved the Tosco refinery's plan to dump toxic waste into San Francisco Bay just days after Davis received a $70,000 contribution from the refinery.

"I cannot keep track over every board and commission, every regional this and regional that," Davis said. "And to some extent, I've been hoisted by our own efforts to separate government from politics."

Davis blames his image problems on a sagging economy that crippled the state budget and last year's energy crisis, when he said Republicans succeeded in convincing the public that his delays worsened the problem.

"There's no question that the energy crisis was expensive to me," Davis said. "The public still doesn't fully comprehend the complexity of it, and they largely hold me accountable for it. But I am prouder of what we did to get through that energy crisis than almost anything else I've done in public life. I sat here, like one administration with [its] hand against the dike. And we eventually kept the dike from breaking, even though the entire country conspired against me because Enron bought off media people, bought off analysts."

Simon mistakes

These are the controversies that make Republican leaders fume about Simon's missed opportunities. They blame the GOP campaign, especially Russo, for not putting

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Davis on the defense about his fund raising as well as the issues that polls show top voter concerns — economy, education and energy. They are convinced that Davis would lose if *he* were the focus of voter attention instead of Simon.

"To be blunt, the major problem with the Simon campaign is Sal Russo," said a prominent Republican. "Bill Simon is a much better candidate than the campaign shows."

Brooks Firestone, a former state legislator and a leading Republican moderate, also spoke well of Simon but added that social conservatives have controlled his campaign and "wasted" his future value to the party. "Simon doesn't understand the symbolism of the campaign or know how much he's being used to advance the campaign purposes of others," he said.

The strain of trying to unite the Republican Party's moderate and conservative wings was demonstrated in September when Simon was forced to disavow a signed campaign document that pledged his support for gay rights bills. Simon said he never saw the document. But the episode angered both wings of the party and drew an apology from Russo, who took responsibility.

The mess also prompted an unexpected blast from Lyn Nofziger, a veteran GOP consultant once touted as a Simon advisor, who wrote in an Internet column in September that "Simon is too dumb to win."

Part of the anger at the Simon campaign comes from Republicans who believe they were misled about the candidate's resources.

One of Simon's attractions for the party was the hope that he would use his personal fortune in the campaign. When Simon released his taxes, however, he created a stir about how much he was truly worth and how much of his money was liquid. By June, Russo said that Simon gave about $5 million to his campaign. But shortly before Labor Day, Simon said in an interview that he hadn't decided whether to contribute any more. Days later, however, Simon made another contribution, and on September 5, the campaign finally launched its first series of network-broadcast commercials in the general election.

By that time, however, Simon had suffered weeks of unanswered television attacks from Davis and missed a bushel basket of opportunities. Veteran Republican consultant Stuart K. Spencer believes Simon lost a vital opportunity to make Davis's fund-raising practices an issue after the Oracle debacle, and he allowed Davis to set the themes of the campaign. By August, Spencer said he worried that Simon was still such an unknown quantity that — when he's compared with Davis — voters "are more likely to chose the devil they know than the devil they don't."

Some Republicans, including those in the White House, also were upset last summer when they were blindsided by the devastating $78 million court verdict against Simon's company. The jury found that William E. Simon and Sons concealed from the founder of a Southern California pay phone company its plans to borrow heavily and expand the company so it could go public. The plan failed, and the company was taken over by banks, costing the partner, Edward Hindelang, $23 million.

Six weeks after the verdict, a judge threw out the jury's decision on September 12, saying that Hindelang misled Simon when he did not disclose his previous drug conviction.

Simon said in an interview that he told Russo about the case last year when they were exploring a campaign. "My consultant knew everything and he would decide if I was fit for [elected] office ... or some sort of an appointed position," Simon said. Russo, on the other hand, said he did not plan for a guilty verdict because Simon assured him that he would not lose.

Simon's Steps

Bill Simon, a businessman and former prosecutor, was a surprise candidate for governor even to some who had encouraged him to make the race.

Richard Riordan, then the mayor of Los Angeles, apparently gave Simon at least mild encouragement late in 2000, although the details and the dates of their conversations are hazy. At that time, Riordan was not himself a candidate.

According to Simon's campaign consultant, Sal Russo, Simon had also broached the subject of running for governor to former Attorney General Ed Meese, once a top aide to Ronald Reagan and fellow board member of the conservative Heritage Foundation. Meese mentioned this to John Herrington, another former Reagan administration official, who in turn referred Simon to Russo.

Simon went to Sacramento on February 1, 2001, to discuss his political prospects with Russo, who said Simon was not fixated on the office of governor. As Russo remembers it, he and Simon discussed the outlook for every state constitutional race. Russo said he recommended that Simon run for the top of the ticket because other Republicans were unlikely to do well "unless there was a strong candidate for governor." That night Simon, Russo and their wives had dinner at Simon's home, and Simon expressed interest in the idea. Simon said he decided "basically" to run at the conclusion of an exploratory effort in June 2001.

By the time Simon decided to run, the energy crisis was taking a political toll on Governor Gray Davis, and Riordan, as well as Secretary of State Bill Jones, had decided to get into the race. At this point, Riordan hoped that Simon would stand aside for him, but he did not. Encouraged by Russo, who told him that his conservative stance would lead to victory in the primary, Simon was in the race to stay.

— *Lou Cannon*

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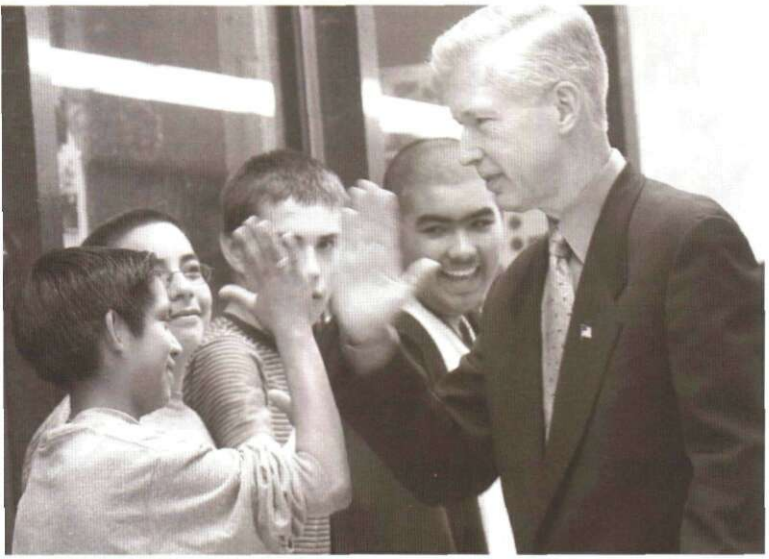


Davis high-fiving at the Capitol

The damage, however, included a humiliating California trip for President George Bush, whose reluctant attendance at a couple of Simon fund-raisers fueled national Democratic charges of the president's cozy relations with tainted business executives. Republican sources said the president's visit raised $2.5 million for Simon, about half of what they expected.

Simon also sought to excuse the verdict when he suggested in an interview that the Los Angeles jury included "some Democrats" and that "it could be possible" they were influenced by his Republican campaign for governor.

"Occasionally, there are outlandish jury verdicts," he said. "Was this a politically motivated verdict? I don't know. But it is not founded on the facts."

Campaign officials said Simon's comments were based on interviews with jurors conducted by attorneys for William E. Simon and Sons after the unanimous verdict. The interviews identified one juror they described as a Democratic "political activist" with strong views on the case.

The primary

One view of this year's choice for governor is that the Republican Party got exactly what it asked for. Many believe that either of Simon's two rivals in the primary — Riordan or Jones — would be more threatening to Davis today. But the Bush White House's unusual intervention in a state Republican primary was a major factor in both campaigns.

Jones, the secretary of state and the highest-ranking Republican in California, was on the White House enemy list after he endorsed Arizona U.S. Senator John McCain over George Bush in the 2000 Republican presidential primary. While the White House wanted to see Davis defeated, GOP sources said it also wanted to make an example of disloyalty. So Jones had trouble raising money.

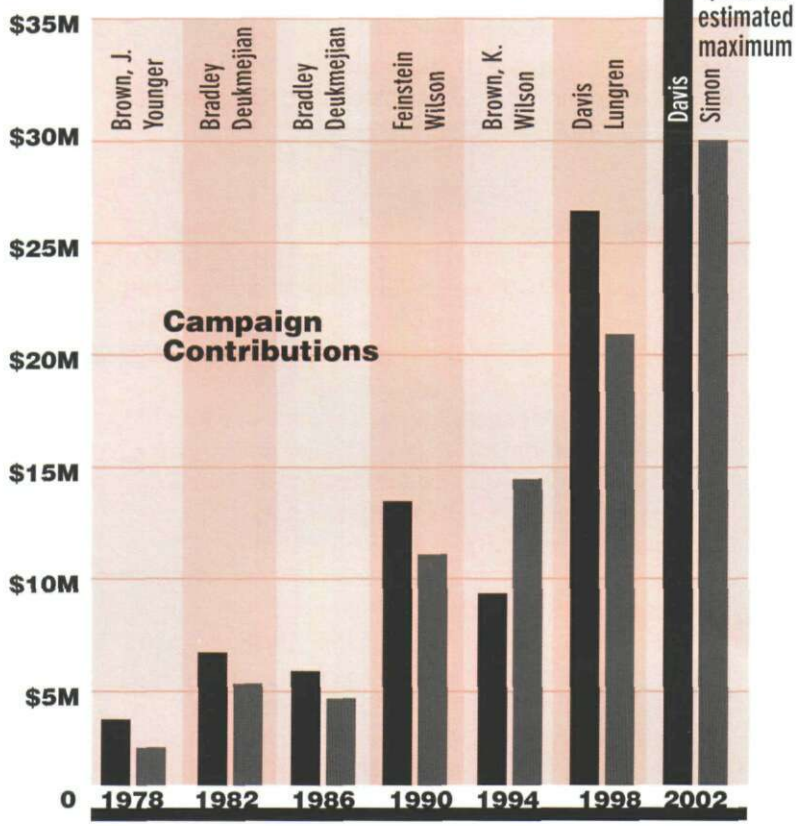
Meanwhile, with Jones and Simon already in the race, the White House encouraged Riordan to enter, hoping he would be the moderate to shed the party's intolerant image in California. Davis feared the same thing. So in a bold move, he caught Riordan off guard with $10 million in attack television commercials during the final weeks of the primary. Polls show that Riordan dropped from 37 points ahead of Simon in January to 18 points behind on Election Day, a stunning collapse of 55 points in just 54 days.

The question whether this year's dismal choice for governor is due to the individuals or the electoral system in California is not a simple one. But some successful veterans of California Republican politics are the most optimistic about a system that can quickly recover in the right circumstances.

"There is no Republican Party and there

The Cost of Campaigns

Voter turnout is dropping and political parties are shrinking. But perhaps the most critical factor in determining the candidates who run and the campaigns they wage is the skyrocketing cost.



Source: Secretary of State and California Journal estimates

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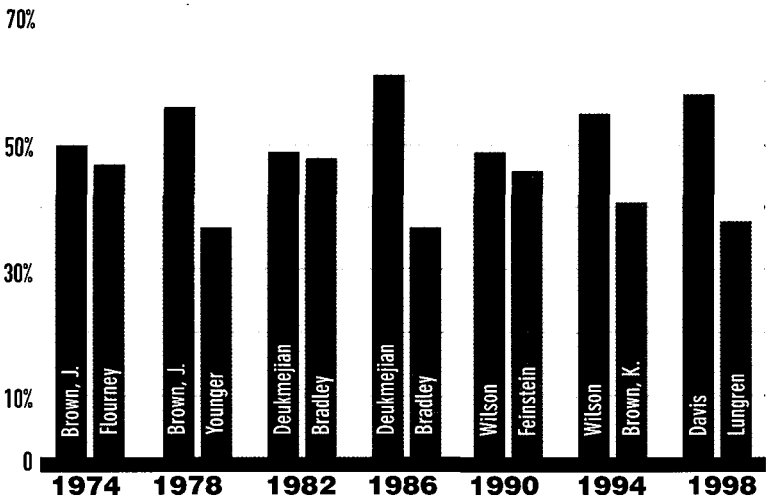
Winning Margins

Until the Gray Davis landslide in 1998, California's open-seat races for governor have been close while the incumbents have been re-elected by wide margins.



Source: Secretary of State

is no Democratic Party. There are candidates," said one GOP leader. "Generally, and this is true for both parties, once you have a strong candidate who the party can unite behind, then you have a winning ticket."

GOP consultant Spencer agreed. No matter who they nominate, he said, Republicans need to "think out of the box," and choose Latinos and others who are rarely put forward by the GOP. If they do, said Spencer, Republicans can come back because the number of voters who have no attachment to either party is growing. "If we put forward a candidate who fits the state, we can reach these voters," Spencer said.

But clearly, there are also systemic pressures that are making the right candidate harder to find.

Proposition 34, a campaign finance reform measure passed by voters in November 2000, was placed on the ballot by legislators who delayed its impact on statewide races until 2006 so that Davis would approve it. Among other changes, it creates a maximum contribution to gubernatorial candidates of $20,000.

The rule is already creating a field of candidates for the 2006 gubernatorial race who — like Simon and Davis — have personal wealth or significant incumbent war chests. Insiders say two well-funded Democrats, Attorney General Bill Lockyer and Treasurer Phil Angelides, hope to have millions of dollars left over from their current races that would be grandfathered into the 2006 race. And at least three millionaires are also said to be considering the contest — Angelides, a developer; Steve Westly, a former eBay executive and this year's Democratic nominee for controller; and movie star Arnold Schwarzenegger, a Republican.

Davis said that the long-term impact of this for both parties is likely to be candidates who represent "the landed gentry" rather than those who came up through the ranks. A Republican, who also climbed the political ladder the hard way, agrees.

"We will be saying that only people who start with a very considerable following in some other field — sports figures or entertainers or people who have in some way gained particular name recognition — would be able to run," said former Governor Pete Wilson.

Wilson said the remedy is not public finance or more regulation but a reversal of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision that equated the spending of personal wealth with the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech.

"I would argue that ... the Bill of Rights was placed in the Constitution by [framers] who ... wanted people to stand on the street and publicly criticize the mayor, the governor and the president of the United States," Wilson said. "What they did not intend was that they should have the right to do so from every street corner in the land simultaneously."

Garry South, the governor's campaign manager, said Davis would not be governor today if he were forced to run under campaign contribution limits. He observed that in 1998 Davis faced two self-funded millionaires that he believes were lured into the race, at least in part, by Davis' financial weakness.

South said that Davis' experience in facing wealthy candidates is one reason he felt compelled to raise the extraordinary sums that he did for this year's race. "Our premise all along" was to protect against wealthy challengers, South said.

Simon said he didn't know how much of his own money he would spend when he entered the race last year. But the advice he got during his exploratory phase included those who said fund raising would be very difficult. He was also told to have an "iron stomach" for criticism. The next question he's asked in an interview is whether he was discouraged by such warnings.

"I still chose to get in," he said.

And now the Republican Party is stuck with him, for better or for worse.

David Lesher is editor of the California Journal. *Lou Cannon, an author and former* Washington Post *reporter, is a contributing editor at* California Journal. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

Candidates for Governor

Democrat: Incumbent Gray Davis of Los Angeles
Republican: Bill Simon of Los Angeles
American Independent Party: Reinhold Gulke of Clovis
Green Party: Peter Miguel Camejo of Oakland
Libertarian: Gary David Copeland of Trabuco Canyon
Natural Law Party: Iris Adam of Irvine.

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Constitutional Offices

Lieutenant Governor

Democrat: Incumbent Cruz Bustamante of Fresno
Republican: Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz
American Independent: Jim King of Riverside
Green: Donna Warren of Santa Monica
Libertarian: Pat Wright of San Diego
Natural Law: Kalee Przybylak of Studio City
Reform: Paul Hannosh of Tujunga

Incumbent Democrat Cruz Bustamante and Republican state Senator Bruce McPherson square off for the right to officially hang around and wait, which is the lieutenant governor's fundamental constitutional responsibility. Bustamante won the post four years ago, defeating Republican Tim Leslie by more than 1 million votes and, in so doing, became one of the nation's highest-ranking Latinos in state government. The early part of his tenure was marked by squabbles with Governor Gray Davis, a fellow Democrat, over the administration's pursuit of lawsuits inspired by the anti-illegal immigrant initiative, Proposition 187 — a rift that never completely healed. For the most part, Bustamante has used the office as a bully pulpit to keep his name alive, concentrating on international trade, the environment and education. McPherson is a former newspaper publisher whose family owned the *Santa Cruz Sentinel* and who served two terms in the Assembly before being elected to the state Senate in 1996. Regarded as the most moderate member of the Senate Republican Caucus, McPherson brushed aside primary competition, but the campaign was interrupted by the murder of McPherson's son, Hunter, in San Francisco last December. Despite his moderate views and proven ability to win crossover votes, McPherson faces an uphill battle. With not much to separate the two on issues, McPherson's first broadside hit Bustamante as a "do nothing" incumbent who accomplished little over the past four years — an odd charge given that the job itself is designed to do nothing. Meanwhile, McPherson has some potential advantages. For instance, he could benefit from Californians' past penchant for ticket-splitting at the top. Among governors and lieutenant governors since 1978, only Davis and Bustamante came from the same party. In addition, McPherson has shown an ability to attract Democratic and independent voters by winning in legislative districts where Democrats outnumber Republicans. But those victories came in a narrow venue and on a more level playing field. McPherson has never run on a statewide stage and never competed where he has been so outgunned, especially in money — vital fuel for any campaign that must raise a candidate's profile and sell his message to distracted voters. At the end of the June reporting period, Bustamante, a former Assembly speaker, had more than $2 million in the bank, compared with $805,000 for McPherson. Campaign reports show that the gap widened over the subsequent two months as the incumbent added more than $350,000 to his coffers while McPherson added $90,000. Bustamante also enjoys two other advantages: He is a well-regarded Democrat in a state that usually elects Democrats to statewide office, and he is Latino in a state where Latinos make up an increasingly potent part of the electorate. Bustamante also has strong support from labor groups, who have been flexing their muscle in recent elections. An early September Field Poll showed Bustamante with a 10-point edge among likely voters (46 percent to 36 percent) with 18 percent undecided. That was an early snapshot, however, and does not represent an insurmountable lead. But given the disparity in resources and the lack of any significant help from the top of either slate, McPherson's best hope would seem to hinge on an historically low turnout, especially among Latinos.

Bustamante

McPherson

Attorney General

Democrat: Incumbent Bill Lockyer of Sacramento
Republican: Dick Ackerman of Tustin
American Independent: Diane Beale Templin of Escondido
Green: Glen Mowrer of Santa Barbara
Libertarian: Ed Kuwatch of Willits

Incumbent Democrat Bill Lockyer became attorney general four years ago by defeating former Assemblyman David Stirling after a tough and expensive race. This year, Lockyer might wonder if any campaign will take place at all. Not to make too much of the importance of money in a given contest, it still is instructive to look at the current financial disparity between the incumbent and his challenger — Republican state Senator Dick Ackerman. At the end of the June reporting period, Ackerman had a few nickels shy of $62,000 in the bank. Between July 1 and September 10, he had received no — zero, none — contributions of $5,000 or more. Over the same July-September stretch, Lockyer took in $595,201, which ran his overall

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cash-on-hand to just short of $7 million. A September Field Poll showed Lockyer up 12 points (45 percent to 33 percent, with 22 percent undecided). To cut that lead and draw substantial votes from the undecided pile, Ackerman must run a pugnacious and visible campaign. The challenger has attacked Lockyer in the press, calling attention to the incumbent's connection with Oracle software and to the state's rising crime rate. Lockyer once accepted a contribution from Oracle, which was at the center of a contract scandal involving the Gray Davis administration this past spring, and Ackerman accused his opponent of not diligently investigating the scandal. But at this point, Ackerman does not have the resources to exploit that issue — or any issue. Nor does he have the money needed to introduce himself to voters who live beyond the boundaries of his Orange County Senate district. As a September Field Poll noted, two-thirds of likely voters have no opinion of Ackerman (probably because they don't know who he is), including 64 percent of likely Republican voters. Barring some absolute electoral catastrophe for the Democratic Party, Ackerman will spend next year warming his seat in the Senate chambers, while a re-elected Lockyer will focus on the real business at hand: the 2006 gubernatorial contest.

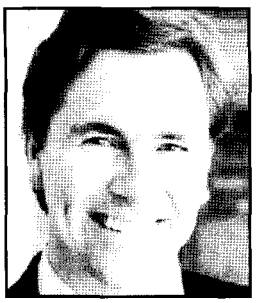
Lockyer

Ackerman

Secretary of State

Democrat: Kevin Shelley of San Francisco
Republican: Keith Olberg of Victorville
American Independent: Edward C. Noonan of Marysville
Green: Larry Shoup of Oakland
Libertarian: Gail K. Lightfoot of Pismo Beach
Natural law: Louise Marie Allison of Claremont
Reform: Valli Sharpe-Geisler of San Jose

If Republicans have any chance of snaring a statewide office this year, the secretary of state's job is one they fantasize will fall their way. Some political pundits suggest low-voter turnout born of antipathy toward the two gubernatorial candidates could benefit Republicans, since GOP voters are more reliable than others. In that case, Republican leaders hope to cash in on a couple of statewide races, especially those with open seats like secretary of state and controller. A September Field Poll showed Keith Olberg, a Republican from Victorville, who spent six years in the Legislature, running 2 percentage points ahead of Democrat Kevin Shelley, an assemblyman from San Francisco. But its doubtful whether Olberg can raise the money to outrun his Democratic opponent. Olberg must work to attract more than the Republican base, and to do so will take considerably more money than he's raised so far. Olberg had slightly more cash on hand than Shelley at the end of the last reporting period in June. But Shelley had raised more than $3 million compared to just $500,000 for Olberg. Olberg has high desert roots and needs to spread his name beyond his sparsley populated home turf. Shelley has been toiling in the campaign fields since last year in order to beat back two well-known primary challengers, former Secretary of State March Fong Eu and Michela Alioto, who previously nearly beat Republican incumbent Bill Jones in 1998. Shelley suffered from the lowest name recognition going into the primary but used his sizable campaign fortune to buy TV time and dangle his name before voters. He managed to squeak through the primary with 34 percent of the vote, edging past Eu and Alioto by just a few percentage points. Shelley has curried the endorsements of law enforcement, unions and Democratic honchos. He also hopes to capitalize on his legislative role in a program to improve voting technology and a bill to require greater corporate financial disclosure. As for Olberg, he has already been taking swipes at Shelley for reported behavioral outbursts at legislative staffers, accusing him of keeping secret a report prepared by a private firm investigating complaints about Shelley's temper. As Olberg works to rise above the din around the governor's race, he's sure to continue slamming Shelley.


Shelley

Olberg

Treasurer

Democratic: Incumbent Phil Angelides of Sacramento
Republican: Greg Conlon of Redwood City
American Independent: Nathan E. Johnson of San Diego
Green: Jeanne-Marie Rosenmeier of Walnut Creek
Libertarian: Marian Smithson of West Covina
Natural Law: Sylvia Valentine of Santa Cruz

Democrat Phil Angelides knows well the travails of running for treasurer. It took two stabs before he finally won the job to manage California's bank accounts. His first attempt in 1994 went awry after he went negative against his primary opponent, fellow Democrat and then-Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti. In the controversial ad, Angelides implied that Roberti, an abortion-rights opponent, had sanctioned the killing of a Florida abortion doctor. Though Angelides made it through the primary,

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the ad later backfired on him in the general election against Republican Matt Fong. Despite outspending Fong by three-to-one, Angelides lost. Four years later, in 1998, he fared better, though he endured another closely contested — and again nasty — fight, this time against Republican Curt Pringle. Pringle took swipes at Angelides for his "sleazy" campaign style, while Angelides hammered on Pringle for his involvement in the 1988 "poll guard" incident involving the hiring of security guards by Orange County Republicans to monitor polls in sections of Pringle's then-Assembly district heavily occupied by minorities. That was then, and this is now. This time around, Angelides sits in the corner office and on a mountain of cash. He has spent four years making the treasurer's office high profile by speaking out against urban sprawl, stepping in to salvage the state's credit rating and offering up a refinance plan to help turn the tide against the state's huge deficit. But even running in four statewide elections, coupled with the advantage of incumbency, hasn't made Angelides a household name. The early September Field Poll showed him nearly even with Republican challenger Greg Conlon, who has never held elected office. Nevertheless, Angelides is armed with $6 million in the bank to give voters a pep talk on why he should be invited back for another four years. The lesser financed Conlon — with just $28,000 on hand at the end of June — survived a primary in which he and rival Mary Toman both ran underfunded campaigns. Conlan dipped into his own pocket for half of the $250,000 he spent to edge past Toman by less than 100,000 votes. Conlon suffered little wrath in the primary but could become a target for his former role on the Public Utilities Commission during the state's botched energy deregulation. Conlon has another former occupation which could also be a liability: He was previously a senior partner with Arthur Andersen before the accounting firm was implicated in the Enron bankruptcy -- liabilities Angelides is sure to point out.

Angelides

Conlon

Controller

Democrat: Steve Westly of Atherton
Republican: Tom McClintock of Thousand Oaks
American Independent: Ernest F. Vance of Sacramento
Green: Laura Wells of Oakland
Natural Law: J. Carlos Aguirre of Laguna Niguel

Plenty of responsibility comes with the post of controller: a seat on 52 boards and commissions, oversight of the state's accounting books and signer of state checks. But the public is hardly attuned to who the controller is, much less what he or she does. Still there's opportunity in the controller's job. Whoever holds the office has the benefit of affixing their name to every payroll and tax refund check sent out by the state. For several former controllers, the auto-pen helped propel them up the political ladder. Two previous U.S. senators — Thomas Kuchel and Alan Cranston — once served as controller as did Governor Gray Davis. Both the present candidates beat back stiff challengers to win the right to compete for the job in November. Democrat Steve Westly toppled Johan Klehs, a former assemblyman and Board of Equalization member. Republican Tom McClintock triumphed over another former assemblyman and Board of Equalization member, Dean Andal. In Westly's case, he was the better funded candidate due to his own personal wealth; in the latter case, McClintock pulled ahead with a stronger network of endorsements and grassroots support. This isn't the first time McClintock has taken a swing at becoming California's controller. In 1994, he narrowly lost to incumbent Kathleen Connell when she was largely a new face in politics. Her last-minute TV buy — made possible by her sizable personal fortune — was substantial and put her over the top, despite the fact that McClintock also took to the airwaves. McClintock, who has made a name for himself as a tax cutter and blunt critic of government waste, has earned a reputation not only as outspoken but also as a politician who goes toe-to-toe on

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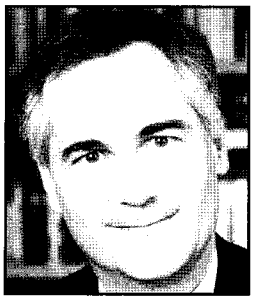
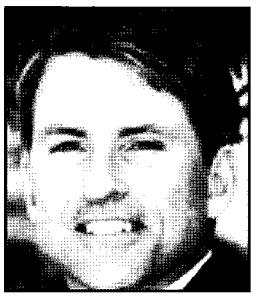
budgetary and fiscal issues not just with Democrats but also with those in his own party. Though McClintock is more libertarian than his fellow Republicans, he has managed to gain the backing of most major GOP groups. Republicans consider this race one of their best opportunities to gain a statewide office this year. In the September Field Poll, McClintock stood 8 percentage points ahead of his Democratic opponent, even after Westly conducted a highly visible primary campaign. This time, Westly is the wealthy new guy on the block whom McClintock must sweep past. Once again, money could make the critical difference. Westly, who has been a party activist, government worker and educator, is best known as the former vice president of eBay, the popular auction Web site where he was in charge of marketing from 1997 to 2000. Westly is credited with helping build the Internet business into a national phenomenon and making himself independently wealthy in the process. He doesn't just have money to fuel his campaign. He also has plenty of party connections at his disposal, having served on both the national and state Democratic Party committees over the last 20 years. Both Westly and McClintock believe they have the other in a kind of electoral checkmate. Westly's campaign charges that his opponent is out of sync with mainstream voters on social and environmental issues. The McClintock campaign, on the other hand, will highlight Westly's corporate connection, hoping the present disenchantment with big business will make the former executive less attractive to voters. Westly, however, can go to his own bank account for whatever money he needs. McClintock will need help from the GOP to compete. At the end of the last reporting period, McClintock showed just $76,000 in the bank to Westly's $1 million.



McClintock



Westly

Insurance Commissioner

Democrat: John Garamendi of Walnut Grove
Republican: Gary Mendoza of Los Angeles
American Independent: Steve Klein of El Cajon
Green: David Sheidlower of Oakland
Libertarian: Dale Ogden of San Pedro
Natural Law: Raul Calderon Jr. of Stanford

The election of 2002 marks the first opportunity for voters to cast ballots for insurance commissioner since the office was badly tarnished by a scandal involving the previously elected incumbent. That would be Republican Charles Quackenbush, who resigned in 2000 following allegations that he pandered to an insurance industry that had generously funded his bids for the office. The current incumbent, Judge Harry Low, was appointed by Governor Gray Davis to fill the remainder of Quackenbush's term and is not running. That leaves the field to Democrat John Garamendi and Republican Gary Mendoza, each of whom emerged from a spirited primary. Garamendi has the early lead, thanks in large measure to the fact that more voters know him. A former legislator and gubernatorial candidate, Garamendi was the state's first elected insurance commissioner after Proposition 103 (1988) converted the office from an appointed position to an elected one in 1990. Garamendi resigned before the end of his first term to make another abortive run for governor in 1994, losing the primary to Kathleen Brown. He subsequently served in the Bill Clinton administration. When he first ran for the office, Garamendi made a point of refusing to take any contributions from the insurance industry, which lavished contributions on Quackenbush's campaign. Garamendi has made the same vow in 2002, although his campaign is not short of cash. He had more than $1 million in the bank at the end of June and had raised an additional $222,000 by early September. He also has picked up endorsements from the usual crowd of Democratic suspects, including unions representing firefighters, teachers, nurses, carpenters, operating engineers and state employees. Money and labor support are two big advantages for Garamendi, since they provide resources and manpower — especially in critical days before the election when all candidates need to motivate voters. For his part, Mendoza also served in government as the state's appointed corporations, commissioner during the Pete Wilson administration, but this is his first foray into elective politics. He had only about a third of Garamendi's campaign treasury on hand at the end of June, although he had raised an additional $100,000 by early September — giving him about $450,000. Early polls showed Garamendi slightly ahead, with more than a quarter of likely voters undecided. The problem for both candidates is finding a way to raise their profiles among the white noise that always accompanies a general election. Both will rely on mail and some targeted television, but as with other statewide races, victory will depend on turnout. In the end, Garamendi could benefit because he is better known, the last elected commissioner not to be involved in scandal. Mendoza, on the other hand, will make a strong appeal to Latino voters; and his campaign already is touting the fact that he could be the first Latino Republican elected statewide in California in more than 130 years.

Garamendi

Mendoza

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Superintendent of Public Instruction

Nonpartisan candidates: Jack O'Connell of San Luis Obispo, Katherine Smith of Anaheim

Ask voters to name their priorities and improving California schools tops the list. Yet the September Field Poll shows 58 percent of voters still have no idea who they want to head the state school system. Jack O'Connell, a Democratic state senator from the Central Coast, beat the bushes working overtime to try for 50 percent of the vote needed to win this nonpartisan office outright in the primary election. He poured more than $4 million into TV time during the campaign to replace termed-out Superintendent Delaine Eastin. Despite the money, he fell 8 percentage points below the 50 percent threshold. Now, he and Anaheim school board member Katherine Smith square off. It comes down to a kind of David and Goliath story: O'Connell, a legislative heavyweight in Democratic circles with plenty of money and endorsements; and Smith, a political neophyte with minimal resources. But Smith, the newcomer, came from behind to qualify for the November showdown. Her Orange County base and ballot identification as a school board member surprisingly propelled her ahead of Assemblywoman Lynne Leach by some 80,000 votes. In the absence of any over-arching issue in the race, voters saw little to distinguish one candidate from another. A high school board member who successfully pushed through a dress code and behavior standards in the district where she serves, Smith is banking on the fact that these changes will resonate with voters statewide. But to get her message out, she will need to do considerably more than she did for the March ballot, which was little more than travel to a few newspapers around the state to meet with editorial boards and be listed on the ballot. At the end of the last reporting period, she showed just $7,000 cash on hand, having raised only $26,000 since February, which she has since supplemented with another $30,000 of her own. She hired veteran political consultant Dan Schnur to aid her campaign and hopes to make her limited resources go a long way with slate mailers. O'Connell, however, is taking nothing for granted. He's changed his ballot designation to identify himself as a state senator *and* a teacher and is busy mining donors in Orange County, Smith's home base. Though O'Connell's bank account dipped to $500,000 by late June, he's expected to marshal his wide-reaching political network to raise enough money for another statewide TV blitz. Three wealthy donors — venture capitalist John Doerr, developer Eli Broad and state school board president and high-tech millionaire Reed Hastings — came to his aid in the primary with a combined $500,000. With the education establishment backing O'Connell and endorsements from 500 individual school board members across the state, he will likely have the money to familiarize voters with his role in reducing class sizes and upping beginning teacher's salaries. But for all of O'Connell's resources, Smith has one ace in the hole: She is the only female major-party candidate at the top of the ballot. Should she fail to get elected, it will mark the first time since 1966 that California has had not even one woman in a constitutional office.

O'Connell

Smith

Board of Equalization

Board of Equalization Districts

ED	D%-R%-O%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Outcome
1	50-27-17	Carole Migden	Mark Bendick	Elizabeth Brierly (L)	Safe Democratic
2	41-43-12	Tom Santos	Bill Leonard		Safe Republican
3	35-45-15	Mary Christian-Heising	Claude Parrish*	J.R. Graham (L)	Safe Republican
4	55-26-15	John Chaing*	Glen Forsch	Kenneth Weissman (L)	Safe Democratic

*Incumbent

Registration figures and candidate names provided by Secretary of State

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California Journal's election analysis

The general election of 2002 is one of the most significant in recent memory, not because of what it offers voters but because of what it does not offer — besides the potential for another historically low turnout. In truth, there is little on this ballot to rouse voters. Selecting a governor is important work, yet neither party is enthusiastic over its nominee. Several other statewide races are interesting, yet down-ticket contests rarely inspire the electorate. And no ballot measure alone has the power or controversy to draw people into the polling booth. Three Supreme Court justices also are up for confirmation, but there is no campaign involved on either side and hardly a word has been written or spoken about them in the media.

And then there are the 157 district contests for Congress, state Senate, Assembly and Board of Equalization. These are new districts, holding elections for the first time thanks to the 2001 redistricting/reapportionment plan. Rather than enhancing the election, however, the plan gutted it, and the dearth of choices is evident in the way this magazine decided to cover district campaigns. In essence, we broke with tradition and ignored most of them. In years past, *California Journal* provided an analysis of every district, even managing a clever comment about uncontested races. This year, no one could be *that* clever. The new districts were drawn to be so safe for Republicans or Democrats that most races were settled in the primary. The general election holds little suspense. Of 157 district races, we consider only nine competitive, with five more on both parties' "watch list" (see "What's At Stake").

There are exceptions, of course, most notably in the Central Valley where four districts are layered on top of each other (CD 18, SD 12 and ADs 17 and 26). With control of the U.S. House of Representatives at stake, California's lone congressional race of note, CD 18, has national implications. In the only state Senate race of significance, SD 12, Republicans are fighting for their lives because a GOP loss would give Senate Democrats a two-thirds majority of the upper house, enough to pass a budget without the need to recruit even a single Republican vote. In the Assembly, Republicans are trying not to fall below the 30 seats they currently hold and hope to gain a little momentum heading into the 2004 elections.

KEY to charts

CD = congressional district
SD = state Senate district
AD = Assembly district
D% = percent of Democratic voter registration
R% = percent of Republican voter registration
DS% = percent registered decline-to-state
Democrats = Democratic candidates
Republicans = Republican candidates
Other = third party candidates
AI = American Independent Party
G = Green Party
L = Libertarian Party
NL = Natural Law
RF = Reform Party
***** = incumbent

CONGRESS (53 seats)
- 3 seats open; Democrats likely will take 2
- 2 seats (10 and 49) uncontested
- 1 (18) is HOT; it is now Democratic
- Current House delegation: 32 D and 20 R
- Of the 53 districts:
  - 32 are SAFE DEMOCRATIC
  - 20 are SAFE REPUBLICAN
  - 1 LEANS DEMOCRATIC

STATE SENATE (20 seats, or half the upper house)
- Even-numbered districts only. Odd-numbered districts in 2004.
- 7 seats open; 3 safe Democratic, 3 safe Republican, 1 toss-up
- 6 seats (6, 14, 18, 20, 22, 26) uncontested
- Current Senate: 26 D and 14 R
- Of the 20 districts:
  - 14 are SAFE DEMOCRATIC
  - 5 are SAFE REPUBLICAN
  - 1 (12) is a TOSS UP and HOT; the old SD 12 was Republican

ASSEMBLY (80 seats)
- 32 seats open; 15 likely Democratic, 14 likely Republican, 3 toss-ups
- 7 seats (7, 14, 24, 31, 45, 51, 55) uncontested
- 5 (1, 35, 44, 53, 54) on "watch lists" for both parties
- Current Assembly: 50 D and 30 R
- Of the 80 districts:
  - 40 are SAFE DEMOCRATIC
  - 27 are SAFE REPUBLICAN
  - 9 LEAN DEMOCRATIC
  - 2 LEAN REPUBLICAN
  - 2 (15, 78) are TOSS UP and HOT; 1 Democratic, 1 Republican

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Congress

Congress, Districts 1-28

CD	D%-R%-DS%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Notes
1	46-31-15	Mike Thompson*	Lawrence Wiesner	Kevin Bastian (L)	Safe Democratic
2	36-45-13	Mike Johnson	Wally Herger*	Charles Martin (L) Patrice Thiessen (NL)	Safe Republican
3	38-44-13	Howard Beeman	Doug Ose*	Douglas Tuma (L)	Safe Republican
4	33-48-14	Mark Norberg	John Doolittle*	Allen Roberts (L)	Safe Republican
5	54-26-14	Bob Matsui*	Richard Frankhuzen	Timothy Roloff (L)	Safe Democratic
6	51-28-15	Lynn Woolsey*	Paul Erickson	Richard Barton (L) Jeff Rainforth (RF)	Safe Democratic
7	57-24-12	George Miller*	Charles Hargrave	Scott Wilson (L)	Safe Democratic
8	56-12-24	Nancy Pelosi*	Michael German	Jay Pond (G) Ira Spivack (L)	Safe Democratic
9	63-12-17	Barbara Lee*	Jerald Udinsky	James Eyer (L)	Safe Democratic
10	46-36-13	Ellen Tauscher*		Sonia Harden (L)	Safe Democratic
11	38-47-11	Elaine Shaw	Richard Pombo*		Safe Republican
12	52-24-20	Tom Lantos*	Michael Moloney	Maad Abu-Ghazalah (L)	Safe Democratic
13	54-23-18	Pete Stark*	Syed Mahmood	Don Grundmann (AI) Mark Stroberg (L) John Bambey (RF)	Safe Democratic
14	46-31-19	Anna Eshoo*	Joseph Nixon	Andrew Carver (L)	Safe Democratic
15	45-31-20	Michael Honda*	Linda Hermann	Jeff Landauer (L)	Safe Democratic
16	50-27-19	Zoe Lofgren*	Douglas McNea	Dennis Umphress (L)	Safe Democratic
17	49-30-15	Sam Farr*	Clint Engler	Ray Glock-Grueneich (G) Jascha Lee (L)	Safe Democratic
18	47 41-9	Dennis Cardoza	Richard Monteith	Kevin Cripe (AI) Linda De Groat (L)	Leans Democratic (see page 22)
19	38 48-10	John Veen	George Radanovich*	Patrick McHargue (L)	Safe Republican
20	51 35-10	Calvin Dooley*	Andre Minuth	Varrin Swearingen (L)	Safe Democratic
21	37 49-11	David LaPere	Devin Nunes	Jonathan Richter (L)	Safe Republican
22	32 52-12	Jamie Corvera	Bill Thomas*	Frank Coates (L)	Safe Republican
23	45 33-16	Lois Capps*	Beth Rogers	James Hill (L)	Safe Democratic
24	35 46-14	Fern Rudin	Elton Gallegly*	Gary Harber (L)	Safe Republican
25	36 45-14	Robert Conaway	Howard McKeon*	Frank Consolo Jr. (L)	Safe Republican
26	35 47-15	Marjorie Mikels	David Dreier*	Randall Weissbuch (L)	Safe Republican
27	49 31-15	Brad Sherman*	Robert Levy		Safe Democratic
28	58 22-16	Howard Berman*	David Hernandez Jr.	Kelley Ross (L)	Safe Democratic

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Congress, Districts 29-53

CD	D%-R%-DS%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Notes
29	45-34-17	Adam Schiff*	Jim Scileppi	Ted Brown (L)	Safe Democratic
30	52-27-17	Henry Waxman*	Tony Goss		Safe Democratic
31	63-17-16	Xavier Becerra*	Luis Vega		Safe Democratic
32	54-27-16	Hilda Solis*	Emma Fishbeck	Mick McGuire (L)	Safe Democratic
33	69-13-14	Diane Watson*	Andrew Kim	Charles Tate (L)	Safe Democratic
34	61-20-13	Lucille Roybal-Allard*	Wayne Miller		Safe Democratic
35	69-14-11	Maxine Waters*	Ross Moen	Gordon Mego (AI)	Safe Democratic
36	46-32-17	Jane Harman*	Stuart Johnson	Mark McSpadden (L)	Safe Democratic
37	62-18-13	J. Millender-McDonald*	Oscar Velasco	Herb Peters (L)	Safe Democratic
38	60-22-14	Grace Napolitano*	Alex Burrola	Al Cuperus (L)	Safe Democratic
39	55-27-14	Linda Sanchez	Tim Escobar	Richard Newhouse (L)	Safe Democratic
40	34-48-14	Christina Avalos	Ed Royce*	Charles McGlawn (L)	Safe Republican
41	36-47-12	Keith Johnson	Jerry Lewis*	Kevin Craig (L)	Safe Republican
42	31-51-15	Richard Waldron	Gary Miller*	Donald Yee (L)	Safe Republican
43	55-29-11	Joe Baca*	Wendy Neighbor	Ethel Mehler (L)	Safe Democratic
44	34-49-12	Louis Vanderberg	Ken Calvert*	Phillip Courtney (G)	Safe Republican
45	37-47-12	Elle Kurpiewski	Mary Bono*	Rodney Miller-Boyer (L)	Safe Republican
46	33-48-15	Gerrie Schipske	Dana Rohrabacher*	Keith Gann (L)	Safe Republican
47	48-34-14	Loretta Sanchez*	Jeff Chavez	Paul Marsden (L)	Safe Democratic
48	28-53-16	John Graham	Christopher Cox*	Joe Cobb (L)	Safe Republican
49	30-50-15		Darrell Issa*	Karl Dietrich (L)	Safe Republican
50	31-46-18	Del Stewart	Randy Cunningham*	Richard Fontanesi (L)	Safe Republican
51	48-31-16	Bob Filner*	Maria Garcia	Jeffrey Keup (L)	Safe Democratic
52	32-47-16	Peter Moore-Kochlacs	Duncan Hunter*	Michael Benoit (L)	Safe Republican
53	42-33-18	Susan Davis*	Bill VanDeWeghe		Safe Democratic

Registration figures and candidate names provided by Secretary of State

District 18 (47% D - 41% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Dennis Cardoza of Atwater
Republican: Dick Monteith of Modesto
American Independent: Kevin Cripe of Modesto
Libertarian: Linda De Groat of Modesto

This district used to lie farther south and was one area that Democrats never worried about, regardless of registration. But that was before the predicament otherwise known as Gary Condit. In an effort to discourage Condit from seeking re-election, Democratic mapmakers shoved the district away from Condit's longtime base and north to include pieces of Modesto and Stockton (see *CJ*, January, February, April 2002). Condit ran anyway, losing a bitter primary to Assemblyman Dennis Cardoza. Cardoza now squares off against Republican state Senator Dick Monteith. With virtually no other California congressional district at all competitive in November, both parties will focus their efforts here, in the Central Valley. Ironically, with so little

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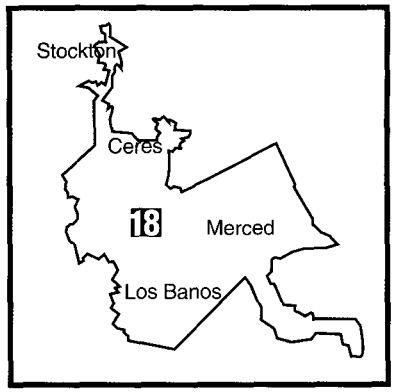
election activity taking place anywhere in California, CD 18 is part of a three-tiered battleground involving overlapping contests for the state Senate (SD 12) and Assembly (ADs 17, 26). The congressional race is important because control of the U.S. House of Representatives could be at stake, and both national parties are deeply interested in the outcome. That's the main reason why Vice President Dick Cheney showed up for an August fund raiser for Monteith and why President George W. Bush stopped in Stockton during a late August swing through California. Republicans began the year with an aggressive voter-registration drive that narrowed the gap with Democrats from 17 points (52%-to-35%) at the time of the 2001 reapportionment to 6 points this past February. Republicans hold a registration edge in Merced County but lag in Stanislaus and San Joaquin counties, with each county providing about a third of district voters. Both candidates have been campaigning continuously since early summer, with Cardoza especially energized after something of a lethargic effort against Condit in the primary. Each side starts with a relatively strong base; Monteith in Merced County and Cardoza in San Joaquin County while Stanislaus provides the swing portion of the district. Monteith also is counting on backing from the district's ethnic communities, especially Southeast Asians and Sikhs. In addition, it is said that Monteith will receive behind-the-scenes help from the Condit organization, still smarting over its defeat in the primary. Given the district's national significance, money should not be a problem for either candidate. Television is a viable option in the Central Valley, and both candidates were up just after Labor Day. Still, the pressure is on Monteith, and some Republicans worry that the national GOP will pull the plug on his campaign if late September polls show him trailing badly. As with every race in this year's galaxy, both sides concede the outcome will depend on turnout. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

Cardoza

Monteith



State Senate

Senate, Districts 2-24 (Even-numbered districts only in 2002)

SD	D%-R%-DS%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Notes
2	49-29-14	Wes Chesboro*	Peggy Redfearn	Laura Likover (L)	Safe Democratic
4	35-46-13	Marianne Smith	Samuel Aanestad	Robert Underwood (L)	Safe Republican
6	50-30-14	Deborah Ortiz*		Jason Sewell (L)	Safe Democratic
8	52-21-22	Jackie Speier*	Dennis Zell	Robert Fliegler (L)	Safe Democratic
10	51-26-19	Liz Figueroa*	James Gunther	Ervan Darnell (L)	Safe Democratic
12	46-40-10	Rusty Arieas	Jeff Denham	David Eaton (L)	Toss Up (see page 24)
14	36-51-10		Chuck Poochigian*		Safe Republican
16	50-36-10	Dean Florez	Blair Knox		Safe Democratic
18	33-51-11		Roy Ashburn		Safe Republican
20	55-25-15	Richard Alarcon*			Safe Democratic
22	62-13-16	Gil Cedillo			Safe Democratic
24	55-25-16	Gloria Romero*	Vince House	Carl Swinney (L)	Safe Democratic

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Senate, Districts 26-40 (Even-numbered districts only in 2002)

SD	D%-R%-DS%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Notes
26	67-13-14	Kevin Murray*			Safe Democratic
28	49-30-17	Debra Bowen*	Jo Ann Hill	Peter DeBaets (L)	Safe Democratic
30	59-24-12	Martha Escutia*	John Robertson		Safe Democratic
32	55-29-12	Nell Soto*	Kenneth Robertson		Safe Democratic
34	46-35-15	Joe Dunn*	Araceli Gonzalez		Safe Democratic
36	29-50-15	Adrienne Westall	Dennis Hollingsworth	Michael Metti (L)	Safe Republican
38	29-49-17	Phillip Hanneman	Bill Morrow*	Lars Grossmith (L)	Safe Republican
40	47-32-16	Denise Ducheny	Michael Giorgino	Felix Miranda (L)	Safe Democratic

Registration figures and candidate names provided by Secretary of State

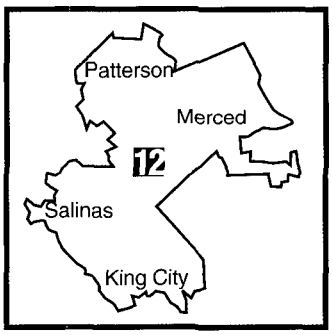
District 12 (46% D - 40% R -10% DS)

Democrat: Rusty Arieas of Los Banos
Republican: Jeff Denham of Salinas
Libertarian: David Eaton of Merced

With the exception of a couple of Assembly districts along the Mexican border, virtually all of the competitive legislative and congressional contests are taking place in a swath of the Central Valley that straddles Interstate 5 from Sacramento to Bakersfield. Four of those districts — CD 12, ADs 17, 26 and SD 12 — sit on top of each other. And with so little activity elsewhere, the money pumped into all three tiers by both parties could float the budget of a moderate-size state. Some estimate that as much as $3 million will be spent by each side in this Senate district alone, where Democrats hope to take away a seat previously held by Republican Dick Monteith. At stake for Democrats is a bullet-proof 27-vote majority — enough to pass a state budget without so much as a howdy-do from Republicans. At stake for Republicans is relevancy in the Senate. Democrats are hitched to Rusty Arieas, a dairy farmer who served seven terms in the Assembly before being termed out in 1996. He currently serves as director of the state Department of Parks and Recreation under Governor Gray Davis. Republican fortunes ride with businessman Jeff Denham, a conservative who lost a tough race for the Assembly in 2000 against Democrat Simon Salinas. Although much of the district is new to both candidates, Arieas still is better known than Denham as the campaign gets under way. But as one observer remarked, given the money that will be spent here, everyone in the district will know both candidates well by Election Day. Both candidates have agricultural backgrounds, important in a rural district where agriculture is the backbone of the economy. Arieas is from a farming family, but area farm bureaus have endorsed Denham, who has set up businesses that serve the agricultural community. Growth and water use are key issues for district voters, but the contest likely won't turn on houses and water. Republicans plan to make Arieas himself the issue, referring to him as a retread and claiming that he is too distracted by financial difficulties (his family lost its dairy farm in a disputed bankruptcy) to adequately serve constituents. They also plan to hammer the former assemblyman over his failed plan to sell water rights — a touchy subject in the Central Valley. For his part, Arieas will tout his experience, both in Sacramento and as a farmer. In an era of financial uncertainty for many farmers, having gone through tough times is not necessarily a negative. Mail, television and precinct-walking all play a part in each campaign, although Republicans have mounted an aggressive, door-to-door absentee ballot program that could reap benefits for GOP candidates at all levels — especially if it enhances what is expected to be a dismal turnout on Election Day. The biggest hurdle for Republicans will be to overcome the registration gap. Even Denham's base in Monterey County, which makes up 20 percent of the district, is heavily Democratic. Two-thirds of district voters live in Merced and Stanislaus counties, where Democrats hold a slight edge. TOSS UP

Arieas

Denham



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ELECTION 2002

Assembly

Assembly, Districts 1-31

AD	D%-R%-DS%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Notes
1	46-31-15	Patty Berg	Rob Brown	Doug Thron (G)	Leans Democratic
2	36-47-12	Doug Kinyon	Doug La Malfa	Pete Bret (L)	Safe Republican
3	35-43-15	Stuart King	Rick Keene	Jon Petersen (L)	Safe Republican
4	34-47-14	Scott Warren	Tim Leslie*		Safe Republican
5	38-44-14	Eric Ulis	Dave Cox*	Roberto Leibman (L)	Safe Republican
6	51-27-16	Joe Nation*	Kenneth Hitt	Richard Olmstead (L)	Safe Democratic
7	52-29-14	Pat Wiggins*		David Kozlowski (L)	Safe Democratic
8	47-32-16	Lois Wolk	John Munn		Safe Democratic
9	58-22-14	Darrell Steinberg*	David Pegos	Douglas Poston (L)	Safe Democratic
10	40-44-12	Katherine Maestas	Alan Nakanishi	Leans Republican (see page 27)	
11	54-27-11	Joe Canciamilla*	Jan Denny	Frank Manske (L)	Safe Democratic
12	54-16-25	Leland Yee	Howard Epstein	Michael Denny (L)	Safe Democratic
13	58-12-23	Mark Leno	Gail Neira	Christopher Maden (L)	Safe Democratic
14	59-18-14	Loni Hancock			Safe Democratic
15	38-44-12	Donna Gerber	Guy Houston	Toss Up (see page 28)	
16	63-12-18	Wilma Chan*	George Nugent	Richard Armstrong (L)	Safe Democratic
17	47-42-9	Barbara Matthews*	Brian McCabe	Leans Democratic (see page 28)	
18	56-24-15	Ellen Corbett*	Jack Hovingh		Safe Democratic
19	51-27-18	Gene Mullin	David Kawas	Joe Chamberlain (G) Robert Geidt (L)	Safe Democratic
20	48-27-20	John Dutra*	Daniel Dow	Keith Lyon (L)	Safe Democratic
21	45-33-18	Joe Simitian*	James Russell	Raymond Bell Jr. (L)	Safe Democratic
22	44-30-22	Sally Lieber	Stan Kawczynski	Kennita Watson (L)	Safe Democratic
23	53-22-20	Manny Diaz*		Warner Bloomberg (G)	Safe Democratic
24	46-32-17	Rebecca Cohn*			Safe Democratic
25	39-46-11	E. Denise Smith	Dave Cogdill*		Safe Republican
26	43-45-9	Tom Hallinan	Greg Aghazarian	Leans Republican (see page 29)	
27	46-30-16	John Laird	Charles Carter	Gordon Sachtjen (L)	Safe Democratic
28	51-31-14	Simon Salinas*	Jane Howard		Safe Democratic
29	36-51-10	Richard Martinez Jr.	Steve Samuelian	Jonathan Zwickel (L)	Safe Republican
30	48-38-10	Nicole Parra	Dean Gardner	Leans Democratic (see page 29)	
31	49-37-10	Sarah Reyes*			Safe Democratic

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Assembly, Districts 32-64

AD	D%-R%-DS%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Notes
32	32-53-11	Michael Shea III	Kevin McCarthy		Safe Republican
33	37-44-13	Laurence Houlgate	Abel Maldonado*		Safe Republican
34	37-47-12	Virginia Gurrola	Bill Maze		Safe Republican
35	44-33-16	Hannah-Beth Jackson*	Robert Pohl	Craig Thomas (L) Cary Savitch (RF)	Leans Democratic
36	38-45-13	Robert Davenport	Sharon Runner		Safe Republican
37	35-46-14	Bruce Thomas Jr.	Tony Strickland*		Safe Republican
38	36-45-14	Paula Calderon	Keith Richman*	Karl Lembke (L)	Safe Republican
39	61-20-15	Cindy Montanez	Ely Ayao		Safe Democratic
40	49-31-16	Lloyd Levine	Connie Friedman		Safe Democratic
41	49-31-15	Fran Pavley*	Michael Wissot	Brian Kelly (L)	Safe Democratic
42	55-22-18	Paul Koretz*	Jeffrey Bissiri		Safe Democratic
43	46-33-17	Dario Frommer*	Ingrid Geyer	Sandor Woren (L)	Safe Democratic
44	47-34-15	Carol Liu*	Dan O'Connell	Bob New (L)	Leans Democratic
45	61-16-17	Jackie Goldberg*		Judy Cook (L)	Safe Democratic
46	69-12-14	Fabian Nunez	Manny Aldana Jr.		Safe Democratic
47	67-13-15	Herb Wesson*	Jonathan Leonard	Keith Clemens (L)	Safe Democratic
48	74-9-12	Mark Ridley-Thomas	Gerard Robinson	Nolayan Herdegen (L)	Safe Democratic
49	49-27-20	Judy Chu*	George Shen		Safe Democratic
50	64-18-13	Marco Firebaugh*	Gladys Miller		Safe Democratic
51	65-17-13	Jerome Horton*			Safe Democratic
52	74-8-10	Merv Dymally	Mark Iles		Safe Democratic
53	42-35-17	George Nakano*	Linda Wilson		Leans Democratic
54	45-36-14	Alan Lowenthal*	Cesar Castellanos		Leans Democratic
55	57-24-14	Jenny Oropeza*		Guy Wilson (L)	Safe Democratic
56	52-29-15	Rudy Bermudez	John Brantuk		Safe Democratic
57	52-30-14	Ed Chavez*	Anne Moll	Leland Faegre (L)	Safe Democratic
58	56-27-13	Ron Calderon	Dave Butler		Safe Democratic
59	35-47-13	Patrick Smith	Dennis Mountjoy*		Safe Republican
60	32-49-15	Adrian Martinez	Bob Pacheco*		Safe Republican
61	51-32-13	Gloria McLeod*	Matthew Munson		Safe Democratic
62	58-27-10	John Longville*	Edward Scott		Safe Democratic
63	39-45-12	Doris Wallace	Bob Dutton		Safe Republican
64	35-49-12	Robert Melsh	John Benoit		Safe Republican

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Assembly, Districts 65-80

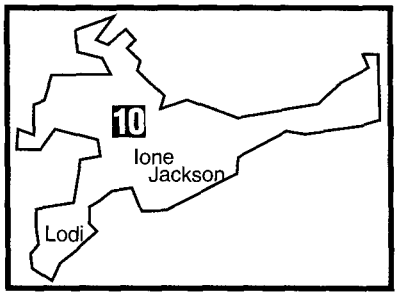
AD	D%-R%-DS%	Democrats	Republicans	Other	Notes
65	37-47-11	Darrel Scholes	Russ Bogh*		Safe Republican
66	30-52-13	David Brostrom	Ray Haynes		Safe Republican
67	33-48-15	Bill Orton	Tom Harman*		Safe Republican
68	35-45-16	Al Snook	Ken Maddox*	Douglas Scribner (L)	Safe Republican
69	52-31-13	Lou Correa*	Reuben Ross		Safe Democratic
70	28-52-16	John Kane	John Campbell*	Paul Studier (L)	Safe Republican
71	28-55-14	Bea Foster	Todd Spitzer		Safe Republican
72	33-49-13	G.Nanjundappa	Lynn Daucher*	Brian Cross (L)	Safe Republican
73	28-51-16	Kathleen Calzada	Pat Bates*	Bob Vondruska (L)	Safe Republican
74	30-47-17	John Herrera	Mark Wyland*	Kristi Stone (L)	Safe Republican
75	30-47-19	Connie Witt	George Plescia	Richard Senecal (L)	Safe Republican
76	41-34-18	Christine Kehoe*	Bob Divine	Sarah Baker (L)	Leans Democratic
77	32-47-16	Sarah Lowery	Jay La Seur*	Virgil Hall (L)	Safe Republican
78	42-36-16	Vince Hall	Shirley Horton	Mark Menanno (L)	Toss Up (see page 30)
79	47-31-16	Juan Vargas*	Mark Fast	Joshua Castro	Safe Democratic
80	47-35-14	Joey Acuna Jr.	Bonnie Garcia		Leans Democratic (see page 30)

Registration figures and candidate names provided by Secretary of State

District 10 (40% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Katherine Maestas of Elk Grove
Republican: Alan Nakanishi of Lodi

Democrats concede that the chance of taking this Sacramento Valley seat away from Republicans is a long shot. After all, Democrats are outnumbered, and decline-to-state voters lean toward the conservative. More significant, Republican Alan Nakanishi has an elective base in Lodi and high name ID thanks to his state Senate race two years ago against Democrat Mike Machado. But that didn't stop Democrats from pumping $50,000 to seed the campaign of Katherine Maestas, a Sacramento County planning commissioner and former legislative staffer who won a surprise victory in the March primary. Democratic optimism comes from the fact that Maestas' primary success was accomplished without much in the way of resources or grassroots organization — both of which she will have for the general.



They also believe Maestas may have an edge in the critical realm of voter turnout thanks to an incorporation measure facing residents of the Sacramento suburb of Rancho Cordova, where many Democrats live. Republicans, on the other hand, are relying on other numbers. They point to registration and to George Bush's 10-point margin over Al Gore in the district's 2000 election. They also note that Nakanishi is a veteran of tough campaigns. Both candidates plan to make clear their differences on issues such as abortion and gun control. Democrats also plan to recycle the negatives heaped on Nakanishi during the GOP primary — notably, his record for voting for tax and fee increases while on the Lodi council. Both campaigns have professionals guiding the effort: Wayne

Maestas

Nakanishi

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Johnson for Nakanishi; Gale Kaufman for Maestas. Nakanishi had substantially more money than Maestas as of early September, the Democratic Party's largesse notwithstanding. The Republican reported nearly $132,000 on hand at the end of June, with another $35,000 in large contributions between August 8 and September 6. Whether Democrats shovel any more money toward Maestas will depend on whether she is within striking distance in October. LEANS REPUBLICAN

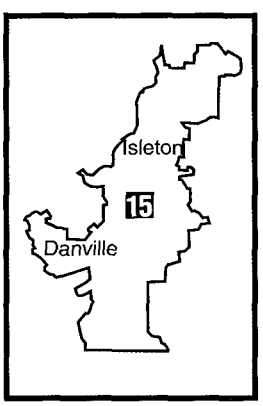
District 15 (38% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Donna Gerber of Danville
Republican: Guy Houston of San Ramon

Republicans have placed this district at the top of their "hold" list. That means they consider it the toughest race in any district currently held by a Republican. A look at registration figures wouldn't seem to indicate much trouble, but the district that Lynne Leach held for six years has been reconfigured, stretched northeast to Elk Grove and Galt and west to Danville and San Ramon. The biggest problem for Republicans, however, is not new territory but the Democratic candidate — Contra Costa County Supervisor Donna Gerber. Contra Costa makes up 60% of the district, and although registration favors Republicans, Gerber has won two terms with plenty of crossover support in an area known for its high turnout rate. That is a critical factor in 2002. She also has been a smart-growth advocate in one of the fastest growing regions in the state, which puts her in step with area voters. An aggressive fund raiser, Gerber has rounded up labor support from, among others, nurses and firefighters. Republicans have countered with Guy Houston, the former mayor of Dublin, who has some catching up to do in terms of name ID in vote-rich Contra Costa, where he is not well known. The Houston camp is confident that its candidate will be able to build a positive image among conservative voters as the campaign gears up, and they point favorably to polls showing he and Gerber even, although he has yet to introduce himself in her backyard. They also note that GOP statewide candidates ran well here in both 1998 and 2000. Republicans plan to keep a sharp eye on money and get-out-the-vote efforts. Houston actually had more on hand at the end of June ($303,000 to $238,000), although Gerber has narrowed the gap during the intervening months, in part thanks to a $50,000 drop by the Democratic Party. In addition, Assembly Democrats are sitting on a bigger pile of cash than are Republicans, allowing them to wade in substantially on Gerber's behalf. Her labor allies could do the same. As with other races, get-out-the-vote efforts will be critical, especially in Gerber's Contra Costa County base. Given registration, she has little margin for error. TOSS UP

Gerber

Houston



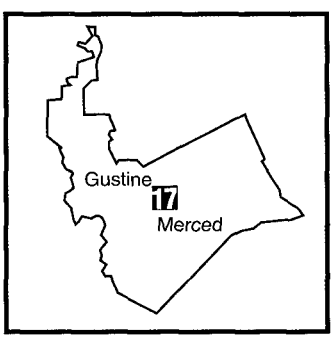
District 17 (46% D - 42% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Matthews of Tracy
Republican: Brian McCabe of Merced

In an election year notable for inert gas floating through just about every corner of the state, this San Joaquin County region is surprisingly fraught with activity. Not only is this Assembly race red hot, but it overlaps with the only Senate and congressional races of note (SD 12 and CD 18). The district is in play because Democrats got a little surprise after the ink dried on the 2001 redistricting plan. Voter registration at the time showed Democrats with a comfortable 53%-to-35% bulge. But that was erased by a GOP registration binge, which sliced that once solid 18-point edge down to 4 points prior to the March primary. Democrats claim they've stemmed the bleeding with 26,000 new registrants of their own since January, but GOP gains — coupled with Senate and congressional swirl — make Barbara Matthews this year's most at-risk Democratic incumbent. Republicans have pinned their hopes on Brian McCabe, a pro-choice attorney who is well known in his home county of Merced. He has raised about $100,000 and should benefit from an ambitious door-to-door absentee ballot program being orchestrated by Senate Republicans on behalf of Jeff Denham, the GOP candidate in SD 12. As for issues, McCabe plans to hit Matthews on her votes for various state budgets, especially in 2001 — a budget which included tax increases. Democrats, although concerned, see Matthews as a strong incumbent who fits the district profile. A businesswoman from Tracy, she is a tireless campaigner who has focused much of her energy on McCabe's stronghold in Merced County. She also has some other numbers on her side, notably past Democratic voting patterns. In 1998, Democrat Michela Alioto won this district over incumbent Bill Jones in the race for secretary of

Matthews

McCabe



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state, while more recently, Democrat Al Gore outpolled Republican George Bush by more than 9 points here in 2000. Both candidates should be well funded, although Matthews' revenue stream is guaranteed. Republicans, on the other hand, have placed this district in a mix of three (with ADs 78 and 80) — only two of which will receive a full campaign larder. To get the bucks, McCabe has about a month to convince Assembly Republicans that he can take out Matthews. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

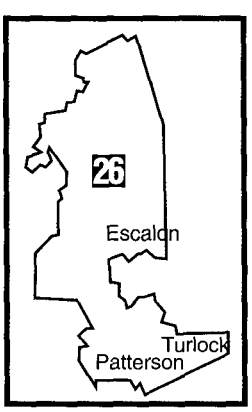
AD 26 (43% D - 45% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Tom Hallinan of Modesto
Republican: Greg Aghazarian of Stockton

It's all a question of math in this Central Valley district. If Democrats add enough new registered voters, and if Republican disenchantment with gubernatorial candidate Bill Simon depresses turnout among the district's Republican voters, Democrats might — might — just have a chance to wrest this district away from the GOP. The race here also overlaps with hot races for the Senate (SD 12) and Congress (CD 18), so the mix is intriguing. Republican Greg Aghazarian is making his second bid for the Assembly, having lost two years ago to Democrat Barbara Matthews in the old AD 17. He had raised nearly a quarter million dollars by the end of June, with half that still in the bank. He'd added in excess of $30,000 by early September. Democrat Tom Hallinan, on the other hand, only had $13,000 in the bank at the end of June. But the Democratic Party seeded the Modesto attorney's campaign with $50,000 on the last day of August — enough to get him on the radio. Some Democratic observers compare this race to the 1998 Orange County Senate campaign in which Democrat Joe Dunn ousted then-GOP Senate leader Rob Hurtt. Like Dunn, Hallinan has some shine to his resumé, including a stint as a federal prosecutor and his current status as an Army reserve officer. Aghazarian, however, begins the contest with solid name ID throughout the district, a penchant for hard campaigning and a lead in the polls. LEANS REPUBLICAN

Hallinan

Aghazarian



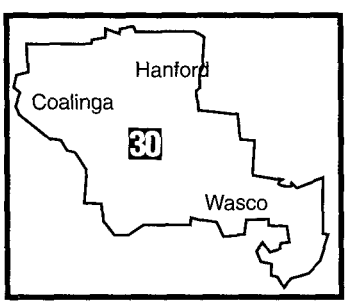
District 30 (48% D - 38% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Nicole Parra of Hanford
Republican: Dean Gardner of Bakersfield

On the surface, this race looks like it should be a slam dunk for Democrat Nicole Parra over Republican businessman Dean Gardner. She has a tidy 10-point edge in registration. She is the daughter of popular Kern County Supervisor Pete Parra. She is a Latina in a district with a heavy Latino influence. She spent a decade in the employ of the region's popular congressman, Cal Dooley. She has the enthusiastic backing of the United Farm Workers in an area where the UFW has emotional appeal for all Latinos, not just those who work in the fields. She has Sacramento whiz Richie Ross running her campaign in an area where he cut his political teeth. Her opponent is a conservative, white Republican businessman. Why, then, do Democrats believe this will be a very tough race? Because, as one Democratic observer noted: It's the Central Valley, and you always have to slug it out in the Central Valley, where a registration edge often is an illusion. Democrats worry that voters in this region are fed up with politics and negative campaigning after more than a year of enduring the soap opera known as Gary Condit. In addition, Parra was roughed up in the primary by rancher Jim Crettol, a moderate who had been backed by the area's popular assemblyman, Dean Florez. Republicans concede that they would have walked away from the district had Crettol been nominated, but they consider Parra too liberal for this portion of the Central Valley — Latino roots or no Latino roots. They point to the fact that George Bush carried the district in 2000 and that even Dan Lungren ran well here in 1998. They also note that the local Democratic Party is fractured, with Pete Parra on one side and the more moderate Florez on the other. That rift, real in past elections, seems to have mended with Nicole Parra's recent praise for Florez, however. Republicans, all in all, have little margin for error. They will have to run a flawless get-out-the-vote effort to make sure their base goes to the polls, because Parra has a number of advantages that transcend money. First, the UFW runs a network of radio stations called Radio Campesina, with especially powerful outlets in Bakersfield and Visalia, and Parra's message likely will be a regular part of the broadcast day. In addition, she has strong labor support from, among others, firefighters and can count on labor to help rouse her troops come Election Day. She also has captured some crossover support, notably from the Republican Kern County sheriff. Republicans, on the other hand, are counting on the fickle

Parra

Gardner



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nature of district voters, who, although registered Democratic, often vote for GOP candidates. They also believe that Parra could be hurt by the fact that not many women are elected from this area — a problem Democrats, too, concede. Expect each side to spend as much as $1 million. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

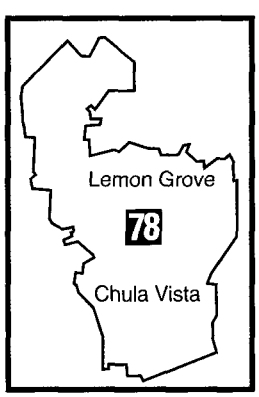
District 78 (42% D - 36% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Vince Hall of San Diego
Republican: Shirley Horton of Bonita
Libertarian: Mark Menanno of San Diego

This district has the distinction of containing not one precinct from the old AD 78, which was a perennial battleground come election time and a source of endless frustration for the Republican Party. The old AD 78 contained more Republicans than Democrats for most of the 1990s, yet the GOP never won it despite targeted challenges in every election. Although the Democratic numbers are stronger in this reconfigured version, the new AD 78 picks up where the old one left off — with a highly competitive race. Democrats nominated Vince Hall, Governor Gray Davis' former staff director, while Republicans countered with Shirley Horton, the mayor of Chula Vista. Both emerged from contested primaries, although Hall's was especially difficult in a field of five Democrats. Horton had an easier road, and the GOP views her as a strong contender with a proven ability to attract Democratic and independent voters. As a result, Assembly Republicans have put AD 78 near the top of their "take away" list. Her elective base in Chula Vista is the second-largest city in the district, and she has twice won there despite the fact that Democrats outnumber Republicans. Hall, on the other hand, has never run for elective office although he served as district director for Democratic U.S. Representative Bob Filner of San Diego before going to work for Davis. Republicans have tried to capitalize on Hall's connection to the unpopular governor, referring to him as "Gray Davis Jr." because of his aggressive fund raising. Both campaigns will be fully funded, and turnout is expected to play a big part in the outcome — the camp that does the best job at motivating its base will win. One irony: Both candidates have trouble with portions of that base. Hall suffered something of an embarrassment in August when one of his primary opponents, San Diego City Councilman George Stevens, endorsed Horton. Stevens, who is black, won't pull much of the city's African American population with him, however. And it is said that Horton is not well liked by GOP conservatives, who see her as an elitist and an ally of Democratic state Senator Steve Peace. In terms of district voting patterns, Democrats have more to tout than Republicans. Al Gore defeated George Bush here in 2000, while Gray Davis pasted Dan Lungren on this turf in 1998. TOSS UP

Hall

Horton



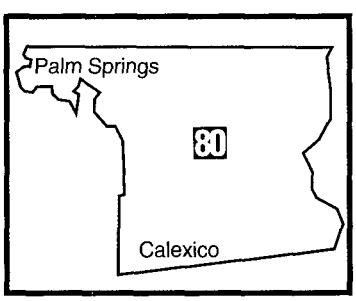
District 80 (47% D - 35% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Joey Acuna Jr. of La Quinta
Republican: Bonnie Garcia of Cathedral City

Republican Dave Kelley's decision not to mount an uphill battle for re-election set the stage for a border brawl between Republican Bonnie Garcia and Democrat Joey Acuna Jr. Garcia is an aide to GOP state Senator Jim Battin, who also represents the area. Acuna has run for the Legislature before, without success. His most notable race was against Battin in 2000. He has been active in civic affairs, however, including a stint as president of the Riverside County School Boards Association. Garcia touts her association with Battin but also points out that she is bilingual and has strong connections to the district's large Latino population. Democrats have run an aggressive registration drive on behalf of Acuna and also have enlisted support from the United Farm Workers, an important asset along the U.S.-Mexico border. As the campaign gets underway, the registration numbers and district voting patterns favor Acuna. Not only does he have a 12-point bulge, the district voted for Al Gore over George Bush in 2000 and gave Gray Davis a 20-point advantage in his 1998 contest with Republican Dan Lungren. Both sides will have plenty of money to spend, although Assembly Republicans have not fully committed to funding Garcia's campaign. The district is one of three under consideration for a full-court press, only two of which will be funded (ADs 17 and 78 are the other two). To grab the brass ring, Garcia had to demonstrate by the end of September that the district is winnable. Again, turnout is the key — and the great unknown. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

Acuna

Garcia



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Continued from page 6

Green buildings

Thanks for the D.C. Perspective essay ["Environmental Theater," August 2002] about the generally poor record of elected officials on the environment. Please take a look at the sustainability policy passed by the Los Angeles Community College District in a unanimous vote of the seven-member board of trustees.

This policy actually sets some trends in construction standards by utilizing the U.S. Green Building Council's LEEDS rating system for all new construction. These sustainable buildings will use fewer scarce resources and be safer for students and employees.

Mona Field, board member
Los Angeles Community College District

Readers respond:

The issue is not about the government's time limits. The main problem is the lack of a living-wage ordinance in California's cities. Employers receive huge amounts of corporate welfare and refuse to pay living wages to help bring workers out of poverty.

— Judi Kirkham

letters

No-choice governor's race

I enjoyed reading A.G. Block's "Two Cents" column [September 2002] on the lack of choice this year in the governor's race. But something was missing: What about those of us who want to vote, not just abstain because the two major party choices are so insufferably bad? The *California Journal* should run a piece on the minor party candidates for governor. I think that Green Party candidate Peter Camejo should get some coverage, in particular.

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lined out
Like 180,000 other Californians, the welfare check for this mother of four is about to stop. Forever.

Gary Kitahata
San Francisco

Ending welfare

Karen de Sa ["Cut Lose," September 2002] quotes a gentleman who anticipates his income dropping by $180.00 dollars a month, which is equal to $6.75 an hour based on a 26-hour work week. For the equivalent of 6.5 hours a week, a person is free of government dependence.

I am employed by a California county and see many participants move successfully from welfare to work. Applying the rules of a much needed overhaul — after more than five years of welfare services — is giving the children of recipients the message that their parents are able to take care of their families. Our participants genuinely want to work, and it is difficult for me to buy into the rhetoric of "harsh" time limits because five years is ample time to prepare for some type of self-sufficiency.

If I did not work with welfare-to-work participants, I would believe in the "harshness" of welfare reform. News articles on the effects of welfare reform rarely mention available and necessary support services, sometimes leading people to believe participants are sweeping streets for the welfare department as a punishment. More coverage should emphasize support services available to eligible families, including child care, education, and transportation assistance.

The issue is not about the government's time limits, however. The main problem is the lack of a living-wage ordinance in California's cities. Employers receive huge amounts of corporate welfare and refuse to pay living wages to help bring workers out of poverty. The wealth is here. Let's get a commitment from business to give decent benefits, full-time employment and reasonable pay.

Judi Kirkham, Member SEIU Local 535
San Diego

California Journal welcomes letters from our readers. Please e-mail comments to **edit@statenet.com** or write to us at 2101 K Street, Sacramento, CA 95816. Letters should be no longer than 200 words in length and may be edited for clarity.

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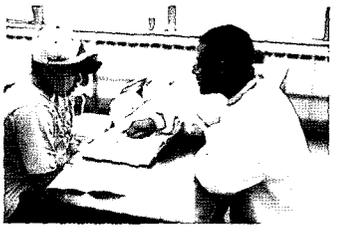
water and wetlands
bond measure to fund water projects

PROPOSITION
50

housing and emergency shelter trust fund act
bonds to provide shelter for battered women, low-income seniors, homeless families with children and the mentally ill

PROPOSITION
46

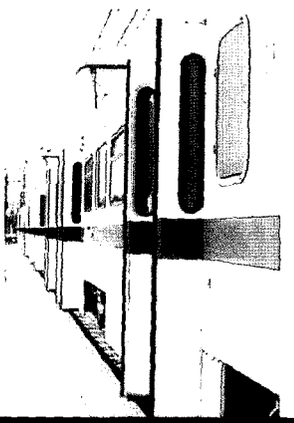
after-school programs
initiative to provide money for before and after school programs



PROPOSITION
49

transportation
creates a trust fund for school bus safety, clean-air programs, highway improvements, mass-transit systems and light rail

PROPOSITION
51



school facilities
bonds for K-12 and higher education schools

PROPOSITION
47

same day registration
initiative that allows anyone qualified to vote to register on Election Day at their polling place

PROPOSITION
52

court consolidation
technical constitutional amendment that deletes all constitutional references to municipal courts

PROPOSITION
48

2002 ballot propos

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Proposition 46

A legislative bond measure to enact The Housing and Emergency Shelter Trust Fund Act of 2002.

Background: California real estate is expensive compared with most of the nation, and the cost of buying a house or renting an apartment often consumes as much as half of a family's disposable income. In addition, many people cannot afford to live near where they work, increasing the need to commute long distances and putting additional stress on the state's mass-transit and highway systems. State officials also estimate that some 360,000 Californians are homeless. California builds about 150,000 houses and apartments each year, most with private funds. State and federal authorities also offer low-interest loans to developers for housing aimed at low-income residents, but in recent years, the supply has not kept up with demand.

Proposal: This is a bond measure placed on the ballot by the Legislature. It provides $2.1 billion in general obligation bonds to fund 21 housing programs. Among the programs are $1.1 billion for multi-family housing, $405 million for various home-ownership programs, $200 million for farm-worker housing and $385 million for construction of homeless shelters, housing grants to local governments insurance for high-risk mortgages and local code-enforcement. Proposition 46 also gives the Legislature the authority to tinker with programs funded through these bonds and requires the state auditor to keep tabs on agencies administering the money. The Legislative Analyst's Office says the bonds will provide annual subsidies to 25,000 multi-family and 10,000 farm-worker households, as well as provide down payment assistance to 60,000 home buyers and space for 30,000 beds in homeless shelters. In addition to the $2.1 billion in bonds, Proposition 46 would cost the state $2.6 billion in interest over 30 years, plus annual costs to administer and audit the programs.

Arguments for: The bill authorizing Proposition 46 (SB 1227) was sponsored by Senate President pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco) and passed both houses of the Legislature with bipartisan support. It has a wide variety of champions, including the California Business Roundtable, California Building Industry Association, California Professional Firefighters, California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, Western Center on Law and Poverty, League of California Cities, California Association of Counties, Catholic Charities, California Teachers' Association, Planning and Conservation League and the League of Women Voters. Proponents argue that safe shelter is fundamental to a decent life and that large numbers of Californians are homeless or in need. They cite an estimated 23,000 women and children who were turned away from domestic violence shelters last year because of lack of space.

Arguments against: Opponents, led by state Senator Ray Haynes (R-Murrieta) and the president of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, warn that California cannot afford more bonded indebtedness at a time when the state is facing multibillion dollar deficits. California, they argue, already has $26.9 billion outstanding in current bonds, not including $11 billion in energy bonds yet to be sold and $13 billion in education bonds also on this ballot (Proposition 47). More specifically, they argue that the state doesn't get much for this $2.1 billion investment. Only about 15 percent of the money will help low-income, first-time home buyers — who must buy houses in pre-designated urban areas. Finally, opponents argue that increased housing supplies will come when government eliminates the red tape that now confronts home builders.

Proposition 47

A legislative bond measure to enact The Kindergarten-University Public Education Facilities Bond Act of 2002.

Background: With $13 billion at stake, Proposition 47 is the largest school bond in state history, although the money is earmarked for two distinct funds — one for K-12 schools and another for higher education — that in past years have been financed through separate bond measures. The need for additional schools has been well documented. State authorities have identified $20 billion in school construction needs for about 2.4 million of the state's 6.1 million students. The money currently available from previous bond measures, including Proposition 1A in 1998, is estimated at about $550 million. In addition, the bill that placed Proposition 47 on the ballot (AB 16) authorized a subsequent $12.3 billion school bond for the 2004 primary ballot. The Legislative Analyst's Office estimated Proposition 47 would actually cost $26.2 billion, including interest, over the next 30 years.

Proposal: Proposition 47 provides $13.1 billion in

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general obligation bonds for construction of K-12 schools and higher-ed facilities. Money from the sale of these bonds goes to the School Facility Program, which dispenses it to local districts that demonstrate a need to renovate or construct school buildings. Most of the funds will go to K-12 schools ($11.4 billion), with the balance available to the University of California, California State University and community colleges. The measure also specifies spending guidelines. For instance, $6.35 billion is available for new schools, with $2.9 billion designated to clear out a backlog of projects submitted to the state prior to February 1, 2002, and the balance for additional projects. Another $3.3 billion would be available for reconstructing or modernizing existing schools. Up to $1.7 billion is specifically earmarked for overcrowded schools. Higher education would receive $1.65 billion.

Arguments for: Proposition 47 passed with bipartisan Legislative support as AB 16, sponsored by former Assembly Speaker Robert Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles). In addition to education groups, the measure is backed by the California Chamber of Commerce, California Business Roundtable, California League of Women Voters and California Taxpayers' Association. Proponents argue that rundown and overcrowded classrooms hamper the ability of teachers to teach and students to learn. California desperately needs the schools and classrooms that Proposition 47 will fund, they say, and the measure guarantees that the money will be spent where it is needed most.

Arguments against: Opponents — including the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, National Tax Limitation Committee and the Northern California Committee for Limited Government — argue that California has too much accumulated debt and that the state's credit rating has been downgraded as a result. They also argue that the measure is poorly written and, as a result, won't require districts to begin construction on new schools for more than six years.

Proposition 48

A constitutional amendment to delete references to municipal courts.

Background: In June 1998 voters passed Proposition 220, which gave municipal and superior court judges in each county the authority to consolidate those two "trial courts" by a majority vote of the judges. Since then, all 58 counties have completed this consolidation, which means that all municipal courts are now superior courts. The Legislature requested that the California Law Revision Commission recommend statutes that have been rendered obsolete because of consolidation. Proposition 48 is based on those recommendations.

Proposal: Proposition 48, a constitutional amendment placed on the ballot by the Legislature, deletes obsolete provisions relating to the creation of municipal courts, eligibility of municipal court judges and consolidation of municipal and superior courts. According to the legislative analyst, the measure does not result in any cost to state or local government.

Arguments for: Proponents, led by Assemblyman Howard Wayne (D-San Diego) and the chairman of the California Law Revision Commission, say provisions in the state constitution dealing with municipal courts need to be repealed because those courts no longer exist. The bill that placed Proposition 48 on the ballot (ACA 15) unanimously passed both houses of the Legislature.

Arguments against: Gary Wesley and Mervin Emerich, co-chairs of Voter Information Alliance, argue that Proposition 48 is more than technical in nature — it permanently deletes any provision for municipal courts from the state constitution. This, they argue, is a mistake because having separate municipal and superior court systems offers a check and balance against abuses that could arise in a one-court system. They recommend that references to municipal courts remain in the constitution in case the Legislature wants to revive them in the future.

Proposition 49

An initiative statute to provide state grants for before- and after-school programs.

Background: Proposition 49 marks the political debut of actor Arnold Schwarzenegger, the initiative's chief proponent (see August 2002 *CJ*). Schwarzenegger has been prominently mentioned as a potential Republican candidate for statewide office, notably governor, and his involvement with Proposition 49 is seen as a springboard for a future career in politics. Schwarzenegger is not alone in putting serious money behind the initiative, however. Jerry Perenchio, chairman and CEO of Univision, joined with Schwarzenegger to seed the campaign last January with $1 million each. Entrepreneur Todd Wagner added another $800,000. The California Teachers Association ponied up $500,000 in mid-August. Essentially, the initiative revamps an existing state program — the Before and After School Learning and Safe Neighborhoods Partnership Program, which last year gave $95.3 million in state grants to

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elementary, junior high and middle schools for tutoring, homework assistance, fine arts and physical fitness. The current program requires that local districts match the state grant and gives priority to schools where at least half the student population qualifies for federally subsidized meals.

Proposal: Proposition 49 would increase annual grants for after-school care, mentoring and crime prevention from the current $95.3 million to a maximum of $550 million. Funding for the program would not begin before 2004, and the funding level would be contingent on state revenue growth beyond specific economic triggers. The measure would continue an existing requirement that local programs provide 50 cents for every dollar offered in state grants for after-school programs. Schools that previously received funding would have their grant levels grandfathered in perpetuity. The measure would establish a base level of funding for all schools and give priority to predominantly low-income students for additional funds. The grants would allow schools to operate before- and after-school programs, although the measure caps the amount that can be given to any one school. The Legislative Analyst's Office estimates that Proposition 49 could increase annual state spending on schools anywhere from zero to $455 million per year, depending on economic triggers and actions taken by the Legislature. If the Legislature opts to fund the program in 2003-04 (one year before it is mandated by the initiative), money could come from within the education budget already guarenteed for schools by Proposition 98. If that happens, then overall state spending would not be affected. After July 1, 2004, the money would be in addition to existing Proposition 98 funds.

Arguments for: Led by Schwarzenegger, Proposition 49 is backed by the California Teachers Association, California Business Roundtable, California Chamber of Commerce, California Medical Association, California Taxpayers Association, Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, Children Now, plus a range of law-enforcement associations and unions. They argue Proposition 49 will make neighborhoods safer, provide a safe and educational after-school environment for kids, and help working families. They cite studies that show that after-school programs improve grades and test scores and also reduce crime. They point out that the most dangerous time for kids is mid to late afternoon, when more than 1 million California children under the age of 15 may be left unsupervised and are most susceptible to the lures of gangs, drugs and alcohol.

Arguments against: The only official opposition comes from the League of Women Voters, although other groups — notably, the California Federation of Teachers — have expressed concern. A California Budget Project analysis warns about any spending program like the one in Proposition 49 that draws money from the general fund without identifying a specific revenue source. The League argues that the measure is a bad approach to a good cause because it reduces government's ability to respond to changing needs and could risk other programs with potentially greater impact on children. It also warns that Proposition 49 could embolden other special interests to protect their financial turf via the initiative process — resulting in fiscal chaos.

Proposition 50

An initiative statute providing bond money for water quality, supply and safe drinking water; and for coastal wetlands purchase and protection.

Background: Bond measures used to be the exclusive province of the Legislature. But over the past decade, a number of bonds have been placed on the ballot via the initiative — most notably, environmental bonds pioneered by the Planning and Conservation League, which is funding this measure as well. In several cases, these bonds have been termed "Christmas trees" because sponsors round up support from various groups by promising that some of the proceeds will be designated to pay for a group's pet projects. For instance, one of Proposition 50's prime financial backers is Playa Capital Company, which chipped in $730,000. According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, the total cost of Proposition 50 would be $6.9 billion over 30 years ($3.4 billion in available money and $3.5 billion in interest). An early September poll showed that few Californians were aware of Proposition 50, with 38 percent in favor, 37 percent opposed and 25 percent undecided.

Proposal: Proposition 50 authorizes the sale of $3.4 billion in general obligation bonds for a variety of water-related needs. It would be allocated as follows:

- $825 million for the CALFED Bay-Delta Program, a state and federal effort to improve water supplies and environmental protection in the San Francisco Bay/Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta Estuary.
- $750 million for wetlands acquisition, protection and restoration.
- $640 million for regional water management, including pollution

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reduction, water treatment and flood management, fish and wildlife habitat.

- $370 million for river parkways, pollution prevention, Lake Tahoe water quality and water quality protection in the Sierra Nevada-Cascade Mountain region.
- $200 million for watershed protection.
- $100 million for desalination and water-treatment projects.
- $70 million for Colorado River management.
- $50 million to secure water supplies from a terrorist attack.

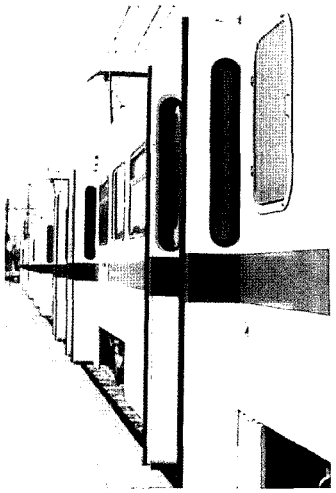
Arguments for: Proposition 50 is backed by environmental groups, including the National Wildlife Federation, National Audubon Society, League to Save Lake Tahoe, The Nature Conservancy, as well as by various water-related interests and the League of Women Voters. They argue that the state's water supply is threatened by pollution, drought, population growth and inadequate security.

Arguments against: Taxpayer groups, including People's Advocate and the United Organizations of Taxpayers, contend that Proposition 50 is just another in a long line of water-quality bond measures that have done nothing to increase California's water supply or stave off the looming water shortage. They argue that new dams and reservoirs are needed in places such as the American and San Joaquin rivers. They also warn that Proposition 50 is a ruse to benefit a few environmental groups and the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.

Proposition 51

An initiative statute to create the Traffic Congestion Relief and Safe School Bus Trust Fund and redistribute existing state revenues to the fund.

Background: Proposition 51 is another effort from the California Planning and Conservation League. This one would reallocate how some tax revenues are spent. Currently, California levies a 6 percent tax on most goods, which netted the state about $27 billion in 2000-01, according to the Legislative Analyst's Office. Over $3 billion of that revenue came from the sale and lease of new and used motor vehicles. Most of that money goes directly into the state's general fund. Only about 1 percent of the state sales tax revenue currently goes for transportation, but starting in 2003-04, most of the state sales tax earned from the sale of gasoline is already scheduled to be redirected to transportation — increasing the total percentage of sales tax dollars spent on transportation from 1 percent to 4.5 percent. Proposition 51 would change that equation by designating 30 percent of all revenue from the sale or lease of motor vehicles for transportation programs. According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, this reallocation would slice $420 million out of the General Fund in 2002-03, $910 million in 2003-04 and "increasing amounts annually thereafter" and would result in a corresponding reduction in funding available for other programs. As a result, the measure has generated a heap of controversy, mostly centered on who might benefit from it and who might be hurt by it. For instance, *The Sacramento Bee* reported that AKT Development, which would benefit from a proposed rail extension to the Sacramento airport, contributed nearly $200,000 to the Proposition 51 campaign. The *Los Angeles Times* identified several projects that drew contributors, including $250,000 from the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, which would benefit from a proposed rail line from Los Angeles to Indio, where the tribe runs a casino.



Proposal: Proposition 51 redirects 30 percent of the sales tax revenue from the lease and sale of new and used motor vehicles from the general fund to a newly created Traffic Congestion Relief and Safe School Bus Trust Fund. The money in that new fund would be used for passenger rail and bus transit (48 percent), traffic congestion relief and safety (25 percent), environmental expenses (15 percent), school bus fleet purchases and modernization (8 percent), bicycle and pedestrian projects (4 percent). It also identifies specifc projects around the state that would receive a total of $210 million in 2003-04. There also are provisions to transfer money back to the general fund under certain fiscal conditions.

Arguments for: Proponents argue that Proposition 51 is needed to improve school bus safety, make road improvements that enhance public safety, reduce oil pollution, strengthen bridges against earthquakes, reduce traffic congestion, and improve public transit systems. It also will help improve air quality and expand affordable transit services for the elderly and disabled.

Arguments against: Opponents, including the League of Women Voters and various taxpayer associations, argue that Proposition 51 violates the principles of sound tax and spending policy by locking up the state budget with 17 new categories of required spending without considering other, more important and timely priorities. In addition, they warn, lawmakers will have no authority to change those spending priorities as the state's needs change from year to year. Moreover, they argue, many of the 45 specific projects cited in the initiative benefit sponsors of the initiative and require the state to keep spending on these projects forever — even if it means raising taxes or cutting vital services.

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Proposition 52

An initiative statute to allow Election Day voter registration.

Background: Participation in state elections has dropped over the past decade, culminating in a historically low voter turnout during this year's March primary. There are a variety of reasons why large numbers of Californians are no longer interested in voting, but some observers feel turnout could be improved if it was easier to register to vote. One reason is that much of the swirl surrounding an election intensifies during the final weeks of a campaign, and those who previously might not have paid attention suddenly find themselves motivated to vote — and out of luck if they haven't already registered. Currently, those who want to vote in a pending election must register with county officials no later than 15 days before Election Day. This applies only to those not currently registered. Voters who cast ballots in a previous election and who have not changed address since then are automatically registered. Politically, Proposition 52 marks the debut of another potential statewide candidate — Taco Bell heir and investment guru Rob McKay (see profile, September 2002 *CJ*), a Democrat who is the initiative's main sponsor. Because of McKay's involvement, and because the measure has attracted significant players both in favor and against, Proposition 52 promises to have the most spirited and expensive campaign of any initiative on the November ballot. The most recent Field Poll showed it losing 42 percent-to-36 percent, with 22 percent undecided.

Proposal: Proposition 52 allows eligible citizens to register up to and including Election Day if they present proof of current residency. Those who register on or after the 28th day before the election would have to do so at the proper polling place. Local election officials would be required to set aside a separate area in each polling place, complete with trained staff, for those who want to register. The measure also requires the secretary of state to educate citizens about Election Day registration. Proposition 52 also sets up the Election Day Registration Fund and directs about $6 million a year to help counties offset the costs of implementing Election-Day registration. Finally, the measure increases penalties for fraudulent registration or voting activity.

Arguments for: Proponents — led by McKay, the United Farm Workers, Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca, the League of Women Voters and former Secretary of State March Fong Eu — argue that every eligible Californian ought to be able to vote on Election Day but that current law makes voting nearly impossible for some citizens. They also contend that current law makes it too easy for others to commit fraud. Proposition 52, on the other hand, will ensure that every eligible citizen has the chance to cast a ballot. The measure also enhances anti-fraud provisions by requiring that every citizen present valid identification when registering to vote and by requiring election officials to report incidents of voter fraud to law enforcement agencies.

Arguments against: The ballot argument against Proposition 52 is signed by Sacramento District Attorney Jan Scully, Orange County Sheriff Mike Carona and Republican Assembly candidate Sharon Runner. But in recent weeks, the ranks of opponents have swelled with the likes of Secretary of State Bill Jones, Democratic state Senator Joe Dunn, a number of district attorneys and the California State Association of Counties. They argue that Proposition 52 will make it easier for dishonest politicians and others to commit election fraud. Although the measure appears well intentioned, they warn, it does not require an Election Day registrant to provide a photo ID. In addition, elections officials would have no way of knowing whether a person registering on Election Day is truly eligible to vote, and they will have no time to verify eligibility. Secretary of State Jones decided to oppose the measure because of what he termed the lack of safeguards. Opponents also point out that only six small states now permit Election Day registration.

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Commentary

Same old politics

Why did September 11 increase our national pride and admiration for heroes but leave our campaigns so ugly?

By Dan Schnur

It is possible that the California governor's race will undergo a dramatic transformation.

It's possible that the campaign will evolve into a high-minded discussion of the state's most pressing public policy challenges. It's possible that the two candidates, while maintaining their ideological and philosophical differences, will slow their fund raising and mudslinging to engage in a series of public debates and forums in which they explain their differences in a calm and reasonable manner.

It's possible that California voters, so encouraged by the civility and substance of these discussions, prepare to turn out to vote in record numbers on behalf of the candidate of their choice. And it's even possible that the news media will have begun to report on the race in depth and breadth, devoting several minutes on their nightly newscasts to the candidate's respective agendas and replacing their newspaper coverage of polls, gaffes and ads with the same broader, issues-based approach on which the candidates themselves have begun to rely.

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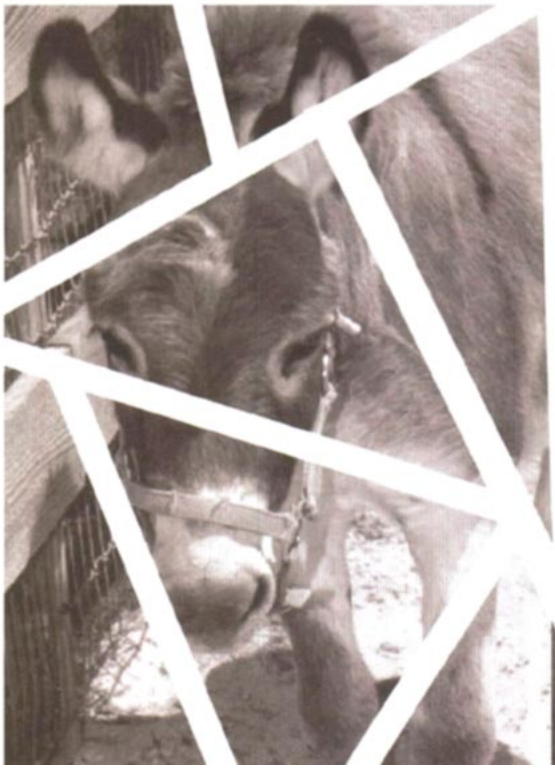

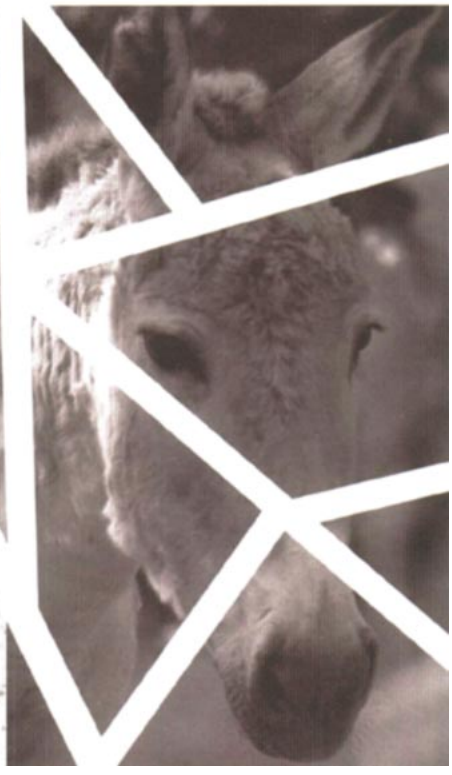

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Yes, it is possible.

It is also possible that Saddam Hussein and Dick Cheney will go on a weekend camping trip together, that the cast of "Friends" rejects their salaries and take a collective vow of poverty and celibacy, and that the Sacramento River runs red with blood. (Birds and snakes and airplanes. It's the end of the world as we know it, and I feel fine.)

set of rules for this game that all but force the candidates and their supporters to behave in a manner that is virtually guaranteed to be met with disgust by any Californian without a direct financial or familial stake in the outcome.

This is the fourth gubernatorial campaign that I have worked on or witnessed since moving to California, and each has been less exciting, less

out of its complacency. Perhaps a threat to our national and personal security can motivate voters into a greater level of participation.

Oh wait, that already happened.

Despite the coven of commentators who predicted that politicians in a post-September 11 era would conduct themselves with more civility and that a renewed sense of community involvement would cause voters to turn

Blaming the toxic quality of the 2002 gubernatorial campaign on Gray Davis and Bill Simon is like blaming the wetness of the ocean on the fish who swim in it.

So it is possible, but unlikely.

Blaming the toxic quality of the 2002 gubernatorial campaign on Gray Davis and Bill Simon is like blaming the wetness of the ocean on the fish who swim in it. Davis and Simon did not create this environment. Rather, through ambition and accidental fortune, they have found themselves in the middle of it.

There are societal and cultural forces that have created this toxic waste dump of a campaign season. And there are deliberate acts of politicians and their backers, who have drawn up a

enlightening and less interesting than the one before. The media's coverage of the campaigns has steadily declined, as has the level of voter participation. The link between the campaign debate and the issues that concern most Californians has gradually diminished as well, as has the resemblance between the electorate and the overall population.

But it is reasonable to hope that these trends will bottom out sometime soon and begin to again move upward. Maybe a real world catastrophe can shake the political community

out in higher numbers, it appears that politics after last year's tragedy is remarkably similar to the politics that preceded it.

The terrorist hijackings of last September have profoundly impacted our citizenry in a number of ways. Confidence and pride in the nation's military have increased significantly, as have similar feelings toward police, fire and medical emergency personnel. Applications for the Peace Corps and domestic volunteer organizations are up.

This sense of self-worth has manifested itself in other, less obvious ways as well. Americans now show increased pride in our country's scientific and technological accomplishments, in our history and democratic traditions, and even in American literature and art.

Along with this shared confidence, of course, has come a shared vulnerability: Anyone who's visited an airport in the last year senses a much greater awareness and caution on the part of travelers than ever before.

But one aspect of American life that has remained almost completely untouched by the events of September 11 is our approach to politics. Aside from the increased number of photographs in campaign brochures that

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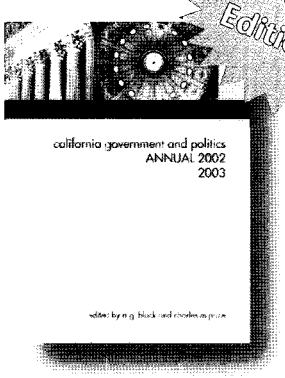

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feature politicians posing with firefighters, remarkably little has changed. Gray Davis and Bill Simon hurl insults and epithets just as regularly as they would have two years ago: The news media and the voters pay them even less attention.

It's important to avoid the temptation to lay blame unilaterally. Although the candidates have failed to live up to their responsibilities, the news media deserves its share of blame as well. Simon gives a speech on education reform; the news coverage talks about his attempt to avoid talking about his finances. Davis signs legislation on abortion rights; the commentators point to his attempts to shore up the women's vote.

Nor should the voters avoid responsibility. Politicians and television stations are two of the most exquisitely calibrated mechanisms with which to measure and respond to popular preferences. If great numbers of us demanded something different from our media and political leaders, they'd undoubtedly find a way to give it to us.

But if the first attack on the American mainland since the Civil War is incapable of stemming this downward slide, then what can? And if the quality and relevance of the political debate continue to deteriorate, what happens when we reach the bottom?

This is what the bottom looks like: If these tendencies continue, the logical and predictable outcome will be a future gubernatorial election in which three aging white men meet in a room, where two attempt to convince the third for his vote. Meanwhile, 33 million Californians go on with their daily lives without interruption.

But there's another possible outcome as well. If the future behavior of society can be divined from looking toward the habits of its youngest members, then perhaps a better alternative is plausible as well.

For many young Americans, the formal political process has become increasingly irrelevant. They don't write checks to candidates at fundraising dinners, so the candidates don't bother to talk to them. The result is predictable: Those young people don't trust politicians, and they show up at the polls in smaller numbers than any generation in recent American history.

But those same young people run neighborhood watch and park cleanup programs. They deliver meals to shutins and tutor at-risk youth. A Pew Foundation study conducted during the last presidential campaign indicates that that same generation volunteers their time back into their community in greater numbers than any generation in recent American history.

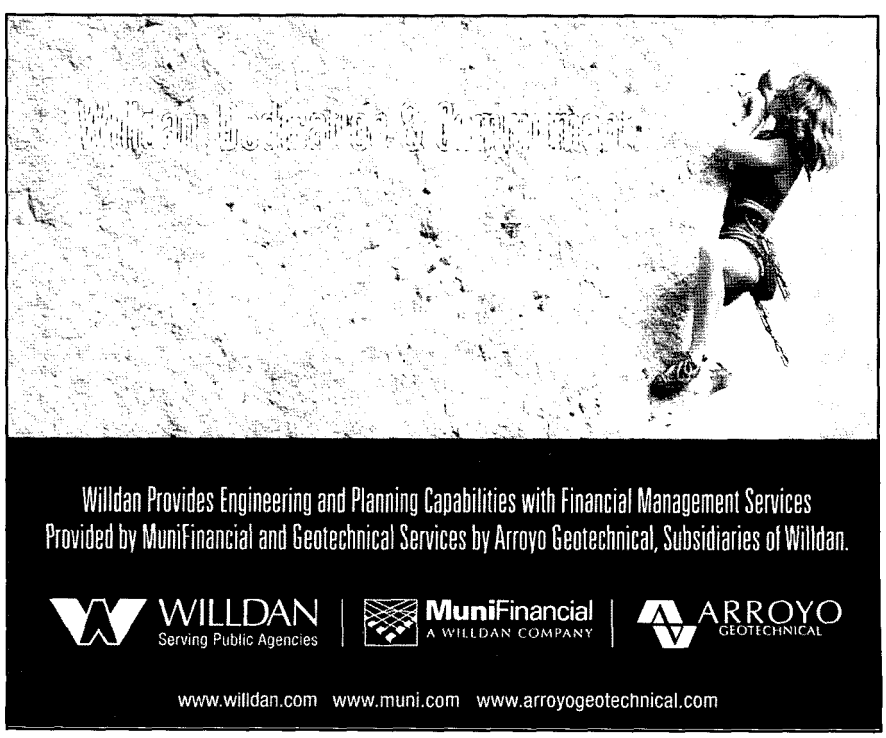
Those young people will put untold hours into volunteer projects, but they won't take 15 minutes every two years to vote. To them, it's a perfectly logical response to a political system that won't make room for them. And it provides for another, more hopeful scenario in which political participation continues to drop but is replaced by other types of community involvement.

But while volunteerism is valuable, even necessary, to the functioning of a community, it is most effective as a complement, not a substitute, for governance and elected leadership. The spirit and drive that inspire Americans to volunteer, however, is proof that those same qualities can motivate a citizen on behalf of a candidate for public office. The fact that it happens so rarely is all the greater shame. Politicians can inspire. They just don't.

There once was a time when California was a trendsetter for the rest of the country. Proposition 13 ignited a tax-cutting revolution that put Ronald Reagan in the White House. In 1990, California voters imposed term limits on their elected representatives, triggering similar movements in more than 30 other states. And the state's demographic changes are a harbinger for a new set of political challenges that are already arising in every corner of our nation.

But how unfortunate it would be that California's latest and most noticeable contribution to American politics was none of these things. Our legacy, instead, is a political future in which those three lonely, old white men sit in a room, arguing about a political process that the rest of us decided simply didn't matter anymore.

Dan Schnur is a Republican political consultant in Sacramento. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**



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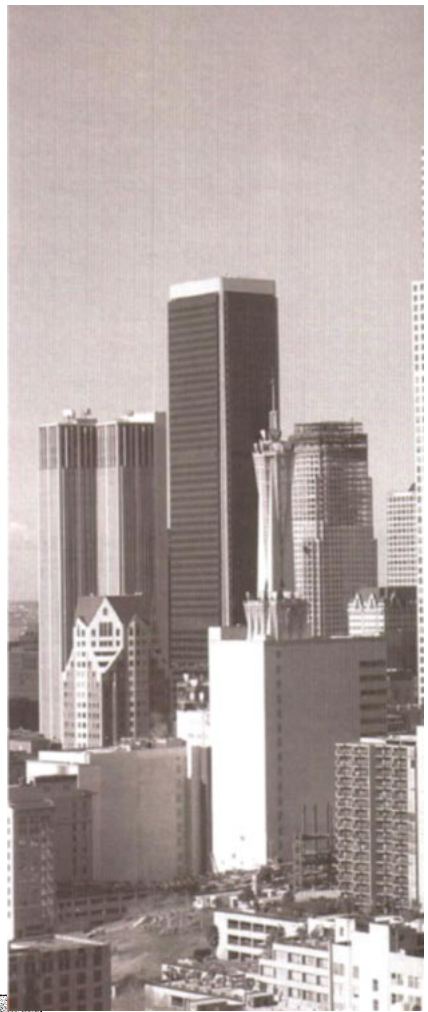
As the *Los Angeles Times* columnist covering the San Fernando Valley, Scott Harris didn't take the secession talk very seriously. But now that he's moved away and the question is on the November ballot, Harris is checking recipes for crow.



Breaking up is easier to do tha

By Scott Harris

My friend, Robert C. Horn, was a political science professor at California State University, Northridge before amyotrophic lateral sclerosis left him virtually paralyzed and unable to speak. These days, Bob communicates by moving his eyes to signify letters on an alphabet chart. The Horn family has lived in the San Fernando Valley for decades, so on a recent visit I asked Bob's opinion of the Valley's bid to break away from Los Angeles. His son Chris slowly decoded Bob's eye movements: n. . .o. . .n. . .s

Got it: Nonsense.

That had been my dismissive opinion, too, when I first heard the revolutionary rumblings during my tour of duty as a columnist for the *Los Angeles Times* Valley Edition from March 1993 to November 1998. Now I'm not so sure.

I'm not saying Bob's necessarily wrong, but if Valley secession is really nonsense, it's nonsense that the activists I dubbed *Valleyistas* believe with passion; nonsense that has navigated state and local politics to find its way to the November ballot; nonsense that may transform the Valley into America's sixth most populous city and drop Los Angeles behind Chicago. In other words, it's nonsense that makes sense to plenty of people, and so

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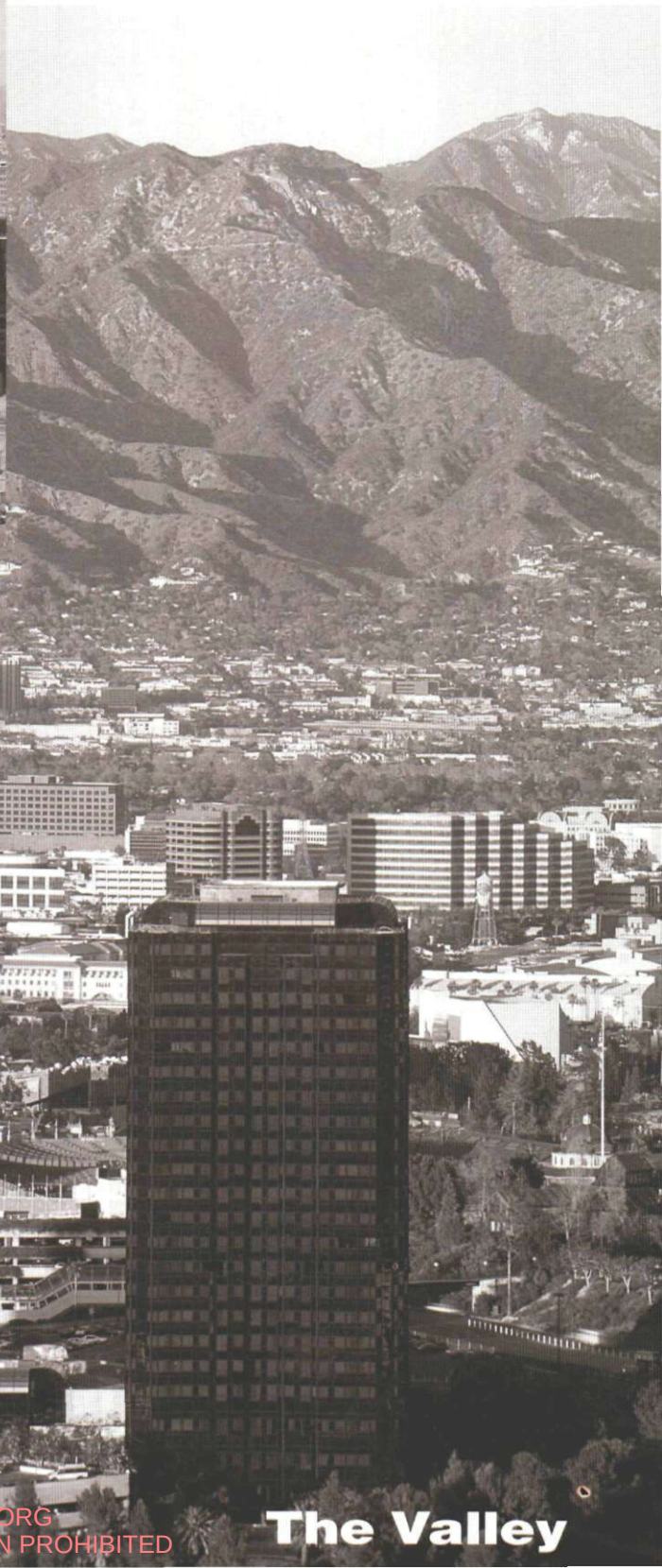

you think

must be taken seriously.

Suffice to say, I would like to take back a few things I wrote over the years, especially that crack about how I would literally eat crow if the Valley succeeds in seceding.

I was hardly alone in underestimating the Valley's rebellious spirit. Conventional wisdom in Los Angeles had it that this form of Valley fever was a chronic condition that would flare up once a generation or so but would cool on its own accord or quickly respond to treatment. Today, it still puzzles many that Los Angeles finds itself at the divorce court of public opinion. And in LA, the puzzlement is greatest south of Mulholland Drive, the proposed demarcation.

Why was conventional wisdom

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Proposed Valley secession area

Latino	574,839
White	557,570
Black	57,256
Asian/ Pacific Islander	117,984
American Indian	3,414
Other	3,034
Multi-race	38,013

Remainder of city of Los Angeles

Latino	1,143,664
White	541,986
Black	344,429
Asian/ Pacific Islander	251,353
American Indian	5,473
Other	6,040
Multi-race	49,258

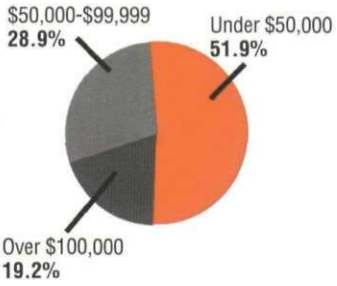
Rank of a new Valley City

Largest U.S. cities if proposed valley secession goes through

1. New York	8,008,278
2. Chicago	2,896,016
3. Los Angeles	**2,342,203**
4. Houston	1,953,631
5. Philadelphia	1,517,550
6. Valley City	**1,352,120**
7. Phoenix	1,321,045
8. San Diego	1,223,400
9. Dallas	1,188,580
10. San Antonio	1,144,546

Projected 2003 incomes

Annual household incomes within the secession area



Source: Cenus Bureau, LAFCO, Economic Alliance of the San Fernando Valley

so wrong? What was different this time?

For me, the first whispers came in the summer of 1993. Mark Kroeker — now Portland, Oregon's, chief of police and then the LAPD's top cop in the Valley — mentioned it in an interview like an unspeakable word. "That little S-word comes up from time to time," he said. Huh? When Kroeker explained he meant "secession," I was intrigued enough to describe the conversation in my column.

Kroeker said he often heard complaints that the Valley was woefully underpoliced compared to the rest of the city. Kroeker explained that police deployment was based on the level of criminal activity — that was why the troubled areas in the inner city had more cops than the Valley. All of LA, Kroeker argued, was underpoliced. He said this was his response to would-be rebels: "I preach to 'em. . .'This is the City of Angels. Let's act like it.' "

I didn't give the subject much thought until then-Assemblywoman Paula Boland (R-Granada Hills) introduced legislation in 1996 that would have removed the LA City Council's veto power over a secession bid. Shooting from the hip, I characterized secession as, yes, nonsense and mere posturing that would lead nowhere.

To the Valleyistas, these were fightin' words.

In retrospect, I underestimated how the Valley's heritage of suburban populism and the climate of the times helped fuel the breakup movement. In the 1970s, Valleyites crusaded against school busing and gave birth to Proposition 13 to impose limits on property tax. The mid-1990s were the era of resentment — of "angry white males" and initiatives aimed at illegal immigration and affirmative action.

The Valleyistas focused their resentment on LA's downtown power structure. A central grievance centered on the conviction that an unfair share of the Valley's taxes subsidized the rest of Los Angeles, and the Valley got little in return.

There was also an interesting social divide. To borrow the broad brush Mayor Richard Riordan used, the Valley is home to LA's middle class, while the rest of the city is divided between the rich Westside and the low-income communities elsewhere.

Although now a plurality of the Valley is Latino, its electorate is more than 65 percent white and more conservative than LA as a whole. Republicans got secession rolling before moderate Democrats hopped aboard.

The ostensibly unbiased newspapers clearly took sides. The Valley-based *LA Daily News* took an aggressive pro-secession tilt in its news and editorials, while the *Los Angeles Times* featured the opposite slant in editorials, my column and in some news stories. Critics suggest that key journalists at both papers internalized the self-interest of the institutions, and I would agree.

Speaking of self-interest, the most puzzling aspect of all is how a smart man like then-Mayor Riordan, who now portrays secession as immoral, would do so much to help the Valleyistas' cause. Riordan, elected in the Valley by a 2-to-1 margin, had political capital to burn when Boland introduced her bill.

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Boland's bill was a step toward a dream shared by the Valleyistas and the *LA Daily News:* a special election to allow the Valley, and the Valley alone, to decide on secession. In other words, they wanted to divide Los Angeles but deny most Angelenos a say in the matter.

The bill was easy to criticize, and so was Boland's rhetoric likening the Valley's cause to that of the American patriots rebelling against the tyranny of King George. Yet, at a time when the secession movement showed little promise, Riordan flip-flopped around before incredibly endorsing Boland's bill.

This may have been the moment that conventional wisdom seriously went awry, because it assumed that the mayor of Los Angeles would exercise some conventional wisdom of his own. At least it made for good column fodder. The man who was supposed to be the ringmaster of LA's political circus, I wrote then, displayed "all the grace of a clown imitating a contortionist." Boland's bill died in the Senate, but Riordan's support helped the Valleyistas and the *LA Daily News* claim that, once again, the Valley was getting screwed by the system.

Boland's successor, Tom McClintock, picked up the ball, and by the summer of 1997, Valleyistas persuaded Bob Hertzberg, a Democrat from Sherman Oaks, to join him. The bill was amended to replace the council veto with a citywide election — something some Valleyistas and the *LA Daily News* still claim is unfair.

Back then I offered this contrary opinion: "This didn't hurt the Valleyistas' bill or their cause at all. It made their effort more credible. Why, it probably even made the bill constitutional." (In 1982, the California Supreme Court, ruling in a similar secession case involving an Orange County school district, held that a districtwide vote would be required.)

I still figured the movement would fizzle for one reason or another. In late 1997, however, my uncertainty showed in a column that, among other things, suggested that, if the Valley seceded, the least Riordan could do was to fly chef Paul Prudhomme out from New Orleans to cook my crow.

Mark Kroeker would secede from LA himself after Bernard C. Parks beat him out for the police chief's job. Kroeker accepted a United Nations appointment to oversee the installation of an international police force in Bosnia — the real Balkans, not the LA version. Now, once again, he's a finalist for the chief's job in Los Angeles.

During his last week, we met for lunch at Nick's, a cop hangout near Chinatown. Kroeker had some laughs about the "togetherness" city slogan the Riordan administration had promoted even while Riordan coddled the rebels.

"The first word is 'Together,' which means we're not," he said. "Then it's, 'We're the best,' which means we're not that either."

Secession, he told me then, "would be a sad thing. LA has a great history and has a wonderful opportunity for world status. And the thought of making it into a number of small cities" — here, Kroeker shook his head in dismay. "LA is a wallflower. It needs more people to love it."

I could relate to Kroeker's sentiment, because I felt much the same way. How come a city that we loved, for all its flaws, could be so unloved by many of its own people?

But I would personally secede too. It's been more than 2 1/2 years since I left Los Angeles for San Jose and more than 3 1/2 years since I left the *Times.* Now my perspective is more detached. But I've been back in the Valley lately, trying to catch up.

Many Angelenos, including many Vals, share Bob Horn's belief that secession is nonsense. Valleyistas by definition want cityhood. But I've talked to some who sound worried they might win — and then what?

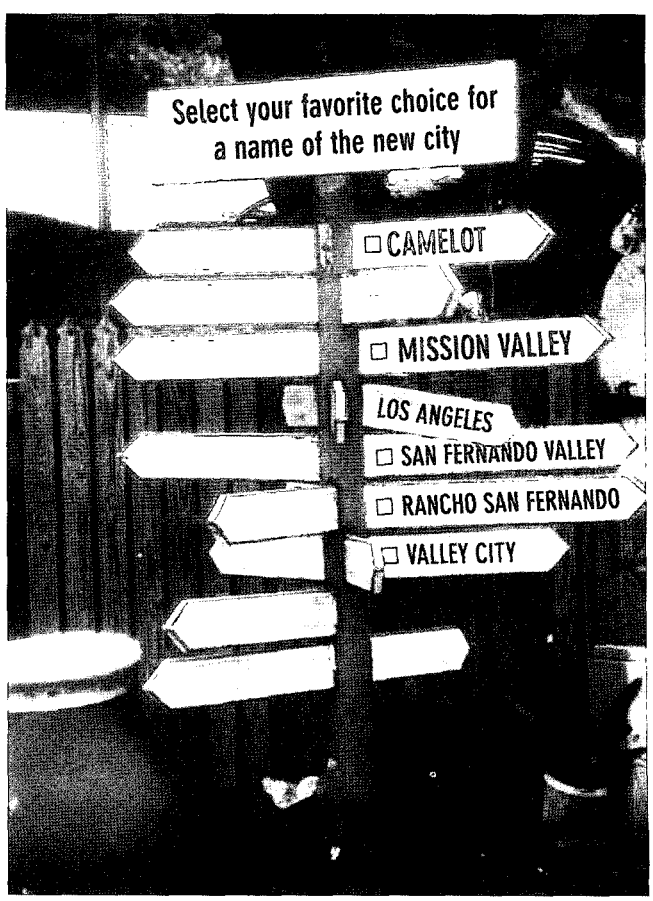
Of this much I am certain: On November 5, many who vote "yes" and many who vote "no" would actually prefer that Los Angeles adopt a boroughs system to provide more local control. But, alas, that's not what the rebels put on the ballot.

So good luck, Los Angeles. And good luck, San Fernando Valley — or Camelot, if that's the name you choose.

If secession prevails, a Valleyista leader told me they'd have the crow sent to me. So I still think Riordan should fly out Prudhomme. I once heard the chef on the radio describe a Thanksgiving feast that involved a deboned duck stuffed inside a deboned chicken stuffed inside a deboned turkey and cooked at 225 degrees for 13 hours.

Put crow in there, and it might be tasty.

Scott Harris is a freelance writer in the Bay Area. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**



Source: www.valleyvote.org

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The Oil Axis: Iran, Iraq and the U.S.

As he did while governor, Jerry Brown sees the future in clean energy.

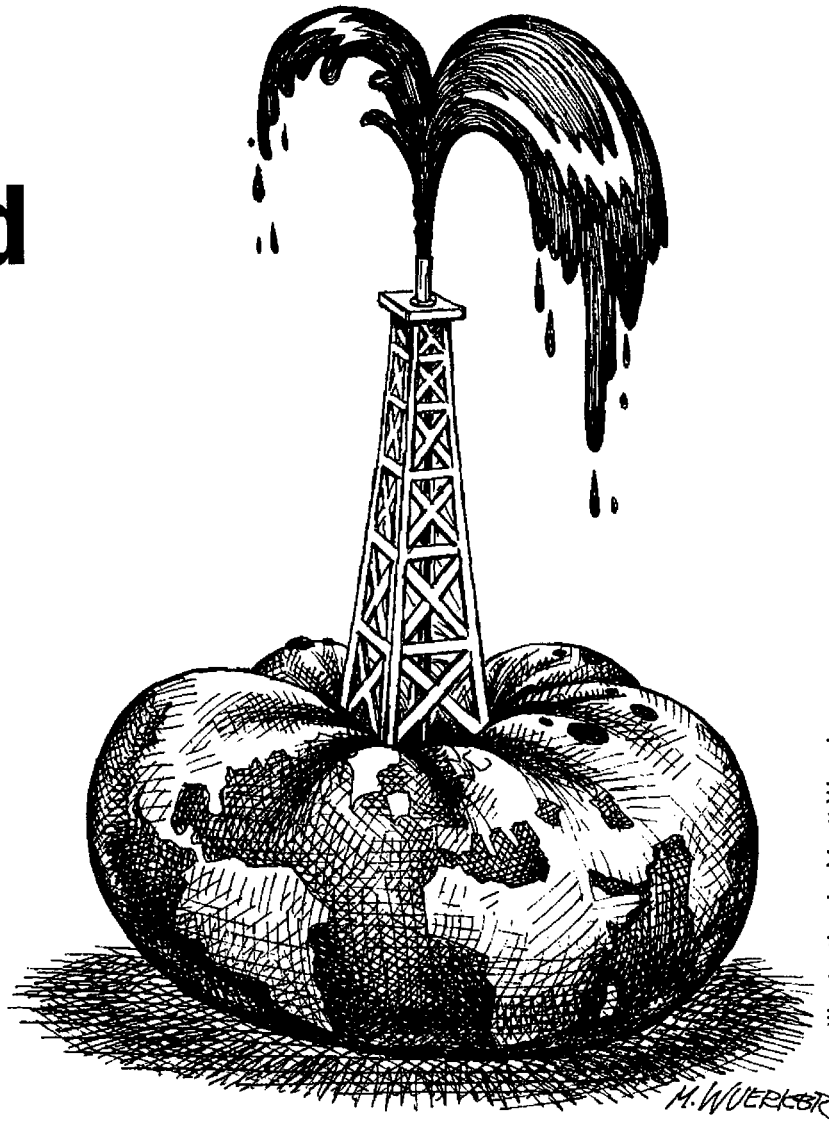

Illustration by Martt Wuerker

By Jerry Brown

Johannesburg, South Africa

Late one night in the cavernous Johannesburg hall where world leaders were holding their World Summit on Sustainable Development, I ran into the well-dressed Mohsen Esperi, the Iranian delegate in charge of energy issues. I asked him why his country was opposing proposals put forward by Brazil and the European Union to develop renewable energy according to a set timetable.

He replied that Iran only wanted balance. I asked him to explain and he simply responded: "I love oil." Then he turned and walked toward his colleagues from Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

Ironically, at this world summit, the U.S. and two of President George Bush's designated "Axis of Evil" countries — Iraq and Iran — formed an odd alliance to kill any commitments that would increase the use of solar and other renewable energy technologies.

This same "Axis of Evil" joined Washington in also opposing s0ummit language that U.S. delegates thought might be construed as protecting a woman's right to choose whether or not to continue a pregnancy. While there were hundreds of speeches on sustainability, two of the most basic requisites of preserving global well-being — women's full empowerment and renewable energy — were deprived of vital support because of the unholy alliance between OPEC nations and Bush administration hard-liners.

It is safe to assume that — without radical changes in the way our political economies are organized — 8 billion to 10 billion people will inhabit an increasingly unstable world of gyrating climate changes. The international delegates here in Johannesburg did embrace a summit commitment to halve the number of people who live without clean water and decent sanitation. That is important and long overdue. But, at the same time, they refused to make any bold moves that would put the world on a path toward genuine sustainability. That would have required a collective decision to reduce fossil fuel dependency by investing in solar, wind, biomass and energy efficiency.

The costs of renewable sources

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are coming down but not fast enough to permit rapid and widespread use. For this to happen, subsidies are needed to create the necessary economies of scale.

Several nations at the summit, together with dozens of energy activists, called for a Solar Investment Fund to be financed by cutting billions in current subsidies going to coal and oil. The proposal also called for channeling the money to help provide renewable energy technologies to hundreds of millions of poor people who live without electricity in remote areas of Africa and Asia.

By helping in this way those who live on less than a dollar a day, the rich world would have helped those most in need, protected the environment and brought down the costs of solar and other renewable fuels so that people everywhere would be able to begin the transition to a clean energy future. For the United States, the advantages would have been profound: reduction of oil imports, a clear path toward climate stability and greater flexibility in our current oil-obsessed foreign policy.

The sums involved do require billions of dollars, but this is a fraction of the current worldwide subsidies given to oil and coal production, which could easily be reduced to free up the necessary funds. Easy, that is, if our political leaders could free themselves from their strange fealty to domestic and foreign oil producers.

The world is at a crossroads. Many national leaders and thousands of activists came to Johannesburg to plead for a just and sustainable future. Their agenda was long and the speeches were sometimes tiresome, but the goodwill on the part of those who came so far was palpable and deeply impressive. They wanted a better world, and they believed it could be achieved through nations collaborating together, making binding commitments.

Rounding up a coalition to fight terrorism is important but it will surely prove inadequate if the U.S. fails to recognize its mounting and dangerous oil dependency.

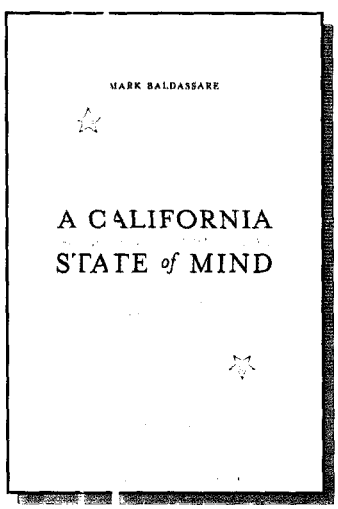
Here is the real challenge for President Bush and his representatives: to break the stranglehold that oil producing nations have over us and start the transition to an energy economy that protects the environment, reduces future climate disruptions and truly strengthens our country. The World Summit offered that opportunity, but our leaders missed it — to our country's detriment and to the benefit of oil-producing nations, some of whom we identify as the "Axis of Evil."

Outside of the extreme fundamentalists, two things in this world are taken as obvious: stabilize global climate and slow population growth through empowerment of women.

Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown, former governor of California, led the U.S. Conference of Mayors delegation to the World Summit on Sustainable Development. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

From the Public Policy Institute of California and UC Press

What Californians Think!



Californians' distrust in government has been the spoiler in state politics for decades. And the state's electricity crisis, recent corporate scandals, and current state budget deficit have only served to deepen this distrust. Based on the findings of the most comprehensive public opinion survey in the state, **A California State of Mind** *by Mark Baldassare examines the beliefs, concerns, and public policy preferences of Californians and how their distrust in government has shaped the state's political climate.*

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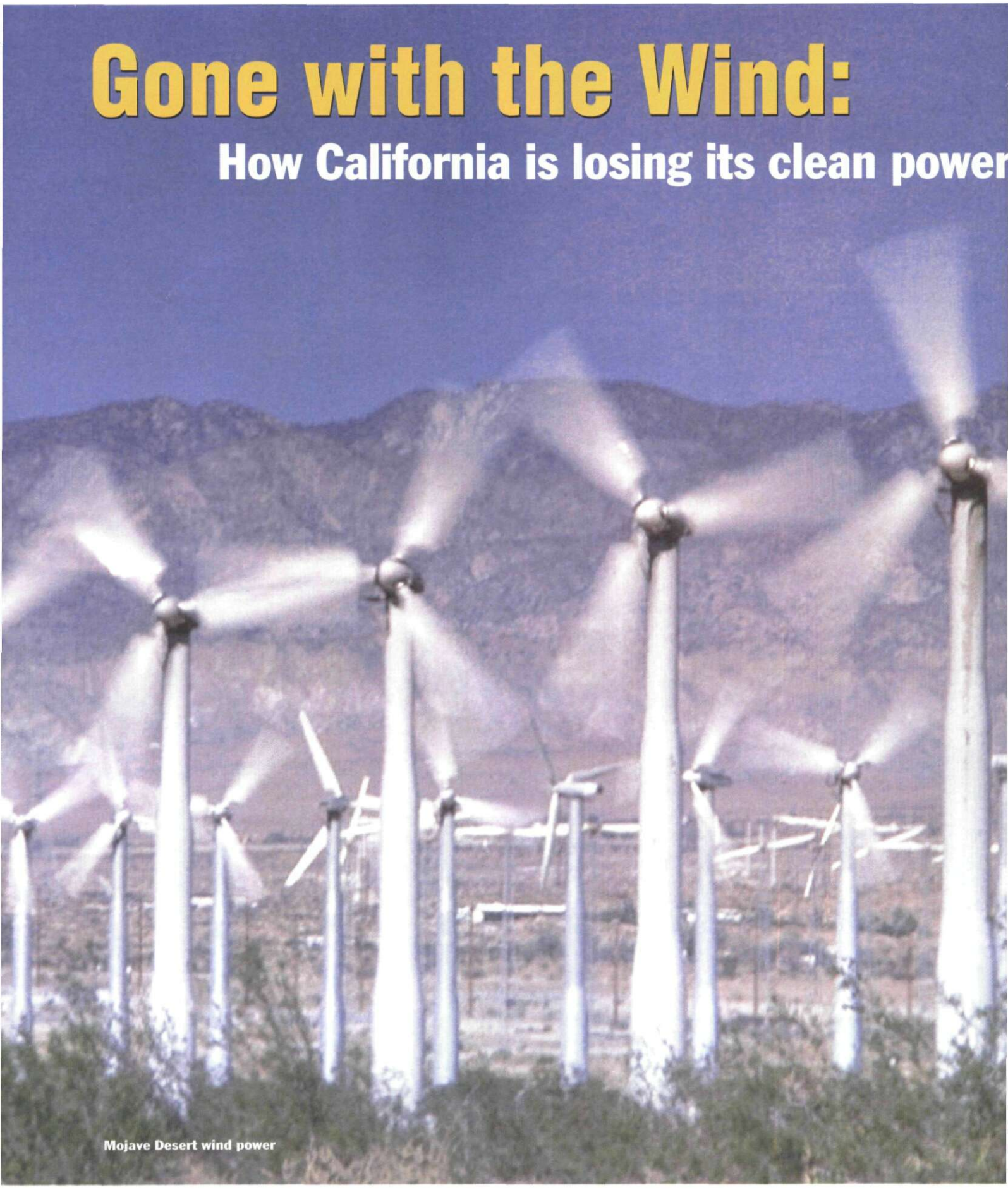
Gone with the Wind:

How California is losing its clean power



Mojave Desert wind power

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Governor Davis signed an ambitious bill in September to double the state's clean energy consumption. But instead of setting a trend, as it did 20 years ago, California now is trying to get back in the game.

By Peter Asmus

Clean energy producers like Denny Beeson once saw a silver lining in the blackouts that marked last year's energy crisis. State authorities, desperate to find more supplies of electricity, were finally returning to the renewable energy industry that was literally born in California more than 20 years ago.

Beeson's eyes lit up when the state offered millions of dollars in financial incentives for new wind power and other clean energy generators. He confidently sketched a proposal for a wind farm capable of generating electricity even cheaper than some natural gas-fired plants.

But despite an overwhelming response from the industry, Beeson and other clean energy producers were largely ignored. More than 1,000 megawatts of renewable energy production has been authorized but remains unbuilt in the last two years due to bureaucratic and financial obstacles. And millions of dollars in state incentives are unspent.

Today, California has fallen so far behind in the development of new clean energy resources that it is no longer considered a leader in the industry that it once dominated and inspired.

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"California has no vision for the future," said Carl Weinberg, former manager of PG&E Research and Development and current president of Weinberg Associates in Walnut Creek. "The new, clean power technologies have made tremendous progress. But our regulatory structure and markets need to catch up so that California does become a leader again."

A Danish farm at work with wind power

Lawmakers recognized the problem last year, but they couldn't agree on a plan to set production goals for renewable energy. This summer, a plan finally passed the Legislature and was signed in September by Governor Gray Davis.

Proponents say it will restore California to its role as a national leader in renewable energy. It seeks to double the amount of clean electricity consumed in the state by 2017. But experts also warn that the bureaucratic and regulatory swamp still dominating the California power market remains a strong deterrent to energy entrepreneurs.

Texas in the lead

Perhaps surprisingly, the national leader in clean energy today is Texas. One reason is that the flat plains of Texas make wind power one of the cheapest ways to generate electricity. But Texas energy producers also became early proponents of renewable energy production as a way to avoid the volatility in price for natural gas, which is used in most power plants.

The California bill that Davis signed in September follows in the footsteps of legislation Texas approved years ago under then-Governor George W. Bush. Like the California bill, Bush's legislation established a Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS), a market-based mechanism that gradually increases the portion of electricity produced from renewable resources.

The Texas plan, included in an energy deregulation bill, called for bringing 400 megawatts of renewable energy on-line by the end of the 2001. Instead, Texas companies added more than twice that amount, accounting for more than half

**"The new, cle
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of the nation's total new wind power capacity and more wind power than had ever been installed before in the entire country in a single year.

California's deregulation law, which did not include an RPS, has fostered little growth in actual renewable energy supply over the last five years, though dozens of projects are on the drawing boards.

Ironically, Enron Corporation and Reliant Energy, two companies vilified in California due to their alleged price-gouging during the state's energy crisis, are among the renewable energy pioneers in Texas. Both firms voluntarily exceeded the RPS targets in Texas, citing the volatility of the state's reliance upon natural gas as the state's primary electricity generation fuel. They also tacitly admitted that wind power is one of the cheapest ways to generate electricity in their home state of Texas.

The Texas RPS, which has been hailed as the most effective in the country, calls for adding 2,000 megawatts of new renewables to the state's grid by 2009. Thus far, wind power has captured 90 percent of this new market.

"More wind generation was installed in a single state — Texas with 915 megawatts — than had ever been installed in the entire country in a single year," commented Randy Swisher, executive director of the American Wind Energy Association.

Interestingly enough, one of the Texas wind power projects developed under the RPS is located near President

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Bush's boyhood home of Midland in Upton County. The King Mountain wind farm, generating 240 megawatts, is among the largest in the world and sells its output to Reliant Resources under a 15-year power purchase contract.

"We've always had a good understanding that you need to diversify your energy sources," commented Charles Jenkins, vice president of Dallas-based TXU Corporation, one of the state's utilities purchasing wind power to meet the RPS mandate.

Given recent announcements by TXU Energy and Cielo Wind Power regarding a new 240-megawatt wind farm and other projects proposed in Texas, the Lone Star State could actually surpass California in total wind capacity within the next few years.

wer technologies have made tremendous progress. gulatory structure and markets need to catch up so es become a leader again." — Carl Weinberg, Weinberg Associates

According to Jim Caldwell, policy director for the American Wind Energy Association, sensible transmission policies that do not penalize variable generators such as wind power had a major impact on the fast growth of the Texas wind power market.

Having worked in California, Caldwell also noted that there is a very different attitude between utilities in California and utilities in Texas.

"There are all kinds of transmission constraints in West Texas," he said. "But when we sit down with the Texas utilities, they have a can-do attitude. ... In California, the utilities can get away with doing nothing. In the current political and regulatory environment, they have no incentive to be accommodating to wind or other renewable energy technologies."

Meanwhile, at least a dozen other states have already enacted a Renewable Portfolio Standard. And the legislative goals for renewable energy consumption across the country have especially encouraged the growth of wind power.

Last year, the domestic wind power industry had its best year ever, installing 1,695 megawatts of new capacity in 16 different states. Only 69 megawatts were added in California last year, however. All told, the U.S. as of last year has accumulated 4,261 megawatts of utility-scale wind turbines in 26 states.

California struggling

In part, California's renewable energy industry has been a victim of the turmoil and uncertainty in its power markets that began with the early discussions about deregulation in the mid-1990s. Investment in new energy production slowed, pending a resolution of the state's negotiation.

For renewable energy producers, the greatest frustration has been a missed opportunity to improve the state's response to the energy shortage and rebuild its clean energy industry.

Though 410 megawatts of new wind power was authorized to come on-line in California between the summer of 2001 and spring of 2002, a time when rolling blackouts hit, none of this new clean power was actually installed due to the increasingly byzantine nature of California's chaotic approach to governing power markets.

All told, 1,300 megawatts of new renewable power supply has been authorized over the last two years with $241 million in state financial incentives provided by the California Energy Commission. Only 201 megawatts is actually in operation today.

Steve Ponder, director of regulatory affairs for FPL Energy, the firm that proposed to build most of the 410 megawatts of wind power, complains that "California has become one of the most difficult power markets to develop wind projects from a financial point of view because of a lack of regulatory stability. Who is in charge?"

Robert Gates, senior vice president of GE Wind of Tehachapi, California, concurs. "Doing business in California is very, very difficult," he said. "We still don't have any standard power purchasing contracts on the table."

Gates' former employer, Enron Wind, has 113 megawatts of new wind projects on hold due to the uncertainty in California's dysfunctional power market. "At present, there is no government guidance on power purchases, so we are just burning more gas, setting ourselves up for future spikes in price when gas prices go up again. We also need a stable buyer that the rest of the world believes will pay for new wind power."

The story is much the same for the other renewable energy technologies.

This summer, California lawmakers passed SB 1078 by Senator Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto), which includes the RPS that seeks to double the amount of renewable energy consumed in the state. The bill includes a higher goal for renewable energy consumption than any other state except Maine. But among the many changes to the bill in the final hours of the 2002 legislative session was a more gradual phase-in of the goals at 1 percent per year until 2017.

The state's energy bureaucracy could pose an obstacle

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Which energy proposals are most favored?

60% California should double the use of renewable energy such as wind, geothermal and solar power from 10% of all power usage today to 20% by the year 2010.

47% California should have higher gas mileage requirements for sports utility vehicles.

71% Those in favor of paying an additional $1.50 per month in order to achieve the goal of doubling renewable energy supplies in California by the year 2010.

50% Those in favor of paying an additional $3.00 per month in order to double renewable energy supplies in California by the year 2010.

Which of the following is more important in terms of California's energy policy?

22% Building more power plants that use traditional fossil fuel energy supplies such as natural gas and coal.

70% Developing alternative or renewable energy sources such as wind, solar, geothermal and hydropower.

Which should President Bush's national energy policy rely mainly on?

32% New development of oil and natural gas sources of energy.

59% Conservation and promotion of new, alternative energy supplies.

Which is more important in terms of the U.S. reducing its dependence on foreign oil and increasing energy security?

34% Additional oil exploration domestically, including offshore drilling or in Alaska.

61% Additional investments in technology and renewable energy such as solar, wind and fuel cell technology.

Source: The Energy Foundation, California Phone Survey, February 2002

to the success of the new legislation. And the bill is considered so complicated by performance triggers and financial requirements that even proponents are concerned about whether the targets will be met.

Davis administration officials defend the government's recent record and they boast about the achievements they've made, particularly the new RPS legislation.

"Governor Davis is *the* renewable energy governor," proclaimed David Freeman, executive director of the California Power Authority, at a solar energy rally in Mendocino County in late August. Freeman went on to tick off a list of policy initiatives, including the governor's support for an RPS for California, as proof.

Of course, when the RPS for California died in the final days of the legislative session in 2001, many within the renewable energy industry complained that the one-year delay in enacting this legislation did considerable damage to the state's long-term business climate for renewable energy.

Steve Larsen, executive director for the California Energy Commission, insisted that "The commitment to renewable energy has been very strong in California. The passage of an RPS this year outlines the re-commitment of the state to renewable energy sources."

According to Larsen, the primary problem is that "we have been caught up in the crisis of the last two years. With our utilities on the ropes, developers can't get financing because they cannot get somebody to buy their power. State government is very willing, and wanting, to push on with things. The collapse of Enron didn't help matters. But I expect a rush on renewables as soon as all of these issues get sorted out."

Some power experts have also warned that California's rush to build more generating capacity has come with too heavy a reliance on electric plants powered by natural gas, a fuel that is subject to supply constraints and rapid, extreme price fluctuation.

California responded to its energy crisis by signing more than 30 long-term contracts with power wholesalers worth $40 billion. Roughly 70 percent of these contracts sell power from facilities that have not yet been built. All but 2.5 percent — 120 megawatts — of new electricity generators are fueled by natural gas.

A report released by Santa Monica-based RAND Corporation notes that California's consumption of natural gas could double between 2000 and 2010, largely due to the construction of new gas-fired power plants. "This increased demand for natural gas will place a burden on an already constrained pipeline system that serves California and the other western states," the report says. It adds that this massive investment in fossil fuel power plants is "a risk to California of volatile and rising natural gas prices and recurring supply problems."

Meanwhile, dozens of renewable energy projects are on the drawing boards in California, ready to be built. The California Power Authority, a new state agency created in response to the energy supply crisis of 2001, has yet to act on 1,956 megawatts of new renewable energy projects like

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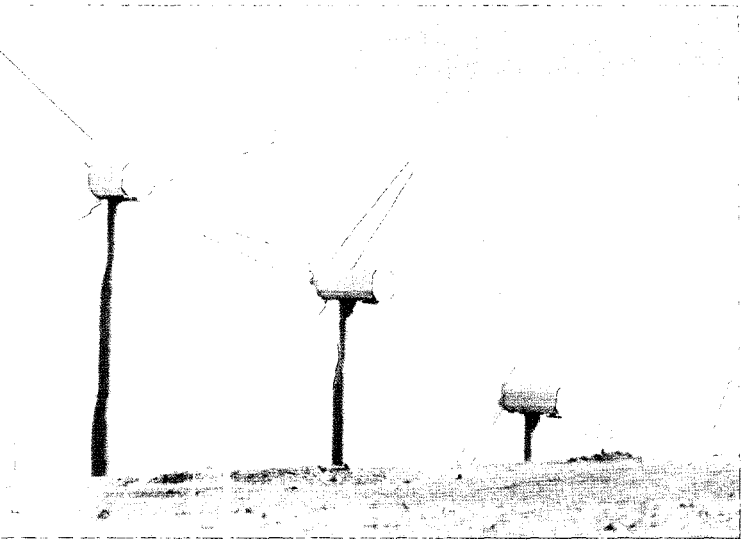

More wind at work

Beeson's that were received after the energy crisis. The vast majority of the projects are wind farms that were supposed to come on-line this year. The average price of the proposed projects was 4.6 cents per kilowatt hour, significantly cheaper than the average of 6.9 cents per kilowatt hour contained in the state's long-term contracts.

"The renewable energy industry, particularly wind power, is thriving all over the country," said V. John White, executive director of the Center for Energy Efficiency and Renewable Technologies. "California, the state with a reputation for pushing renewable energy, is languishing, caught in the cross-fire between utilities focused on short-term costs and state agencies with great plans, but little real action to show for their efforts."

How California lost its luster

California has been a role model on energy policy throughout the world, beginning in the 1970s. Under former Governor Jerry Brown, the state came up with the novel idea that reducing energy consumption could stave off the building of nuclear power plants. Yet the state's real claim to fame came in the 1980s, when California literally gave birth to the world's renewable energy industry. In the course of just five years, a combination of tax credits, long-term power purchase contracts and state technical assistance jump-started the wind, solar, geothermal and biomass power industries.

By the 1990s, things started to unravel. Leading renewable energy companies such as Kenetech of Livermore, the world's largest wind power company, went belly-up due, in large part, to California's unstable power market conditions. A planning process for new power plants that was supposed to be "biennial" dragged out for eight years — and then was overturned by federal regulators. Some 1,458 megawatts of planned new supply, including approximately 500 megawatts of new wind and geothermal capacity, was never put into the ground.

Perhaps the most striking example of how California has failed to keep pace with new technological developments on cutting edge clean power sources is wind power, the world's fastest-growing source of electricity on a percentage basis. Once home to 90 percent of the world's wind power — because of 1,700 megawatts that has been on-line since the mid-1980s — California's share has slipped to just 10 percent over the last decade or so.

Approximately $1 billion was diverted from federal and state taxes into wind farms between 1981 and 1985 to jump-start the world's wind power industry in California. Both federal and state investment tax credits were terminated in 1986 due to publicity surrounding the abuse of this investment tax shelter. U.S. Representative Pete Stark (D-Hayward) led the fight to terminate the investment tax credits by proclaiming, "these aren't wind farms, they're tax farms." Yet California's public policies created a global market for wind as well as other renewable energy technologies.

The various federal and state financial incentives played a critical role in attracting almost $2 billion in private capital to develop wind farms in California in less than five years. Because of the investment tax credits, wind turbine technology achieved the maturity in five years that typically takes 15 to 30 years in secluded government labs, argued proponents of these financial incentives.

Ironically, Denmark benefited more than anyone else from California's renewable energy program. In 1985, 67 percent of the wind turbines installed in California were manufactured in the U.S. By 1999, these percentages had reversed themselves as 65 percent of the wind turbines operating in California were manufactured overseas. Today, 90 percent of the world's wind turbines are manufactured in Europe, with Denmark the world's dominant supplier. GE Wind, formerly Enron Wind Corporation, is the only major U.S. wind turbine manufacturer to survive the 1990s. And its new turbines are largely based on designs of the German firm Tacke, which was purchased by GE Wind in 1999.

Despite concerns, there are also high hopes for California's renewable energy future. The governor and lawmakers, fighting to rebuild the state's power markets, have recognized clean energy as a cost-effective and vital part of the state's electricity resource.

"California may have lost the lead, but we are poised for a recovery," said White of the Center for Energy Efficiency and Renewable Technologies. "Real, viable projects are still ready to go. We can come back. Our governor, like many state legislators, has been pre-occupied with the pressing financial aspects of the recent energy crunch. He may be guilty of rhetorical excesses and insufficient action at this point in time. But I still see opportunity to move beyond stalemate and for our elected officials to lay the foundation for a renewable energy renaissance."

Peter Asmus has been covering California's energy markets for 15 years. This story is based on a report funded by The Energy Foundation and the Hewlett Foundation. The full report is available at: www.ef.org. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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Social security

by Dana Wilkie

Lately, Republicans have a lot of terms for President Bush's plan to let people invest part of their Social Security benefits in the stock market:

It's a "personal investment plan."

Or a "private account plan."

Or even, an "individually controlled, voluntary personal retirement account plan."

Odd that, during the presidential campaign, the idea was broadly referred to as "Social Security privatization."

But that was before Enron and WorldCom shattered the public's faith in big business, and before the markets started their slide. Today, "privatization" is a word that might raise images of corporate fat cats, shady accountants and the damage that the roiling stock market has done to the retirement accounts of millions of Americans.

As a result, House GOP leaders have shelved any formal debate on Bush's plans to overhaul the program until after November's election. And now they complain that "Social Security privatization" is an inaccurate and misleading media invention designed to scare seniors.

> "Republicans are in full retreat on the subject of Social Security privatization."
>
> — Howard Wolfson

Republican leaders — fighting to hold their slim majority in the House and to seize the closely divided Senate — have cautioned their candidates to step lightly around the subject. GOP memos that advise candidates what to say about key issues make no mention of Bush's call to allow workers to invest a portion of their payroll taxes privately. Public Opinion Strategies, a leading GOP strategist, warns candidates in a memo: "Don't say privatization. Instead, say private accounts." Virginia Representative Tom Davis, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, recently claimed that "we don't intend to privatize Social Security." Steve Schmidt, a committee spokesman, grows irritated with reporters who utter the "p" word.

All of which is a source of great glee for Democrats.

"Republicans are in full retreat on the subject of Social Security privatization," said Howard Wolfson, executive director for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. His counterpart at the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Jim Jordan, predicted that "if any ... election comes down to which candidate is the stooge of big business, then Democrats are in good shape."

Democrats, who need only six seats this November to seize control of the House, claim that by putting retirees' benefits at the whims of a risky stock market, Bush's plan would drain $1.5 trillion from Social Security during the next decade alone. This, they say, would jeopardize the financial future of current retirees and slash benefits for future retirees by as much as 41 percent. None of this is lost on seniors, reliable voters who are already nervous enough about their nest eggs.

Nor is it lost on GOP candidates, several of whom are backing away from Bush's plan even if they once embraced it:

- Asked by one of the nation's most powerful seniors groups if he supported privatization, GOP U.S. Representative Clay Shaw of Florida — who wrote legislation giving Social Security taxes to workers for private investments — vowed that "neither the president's principles nor the plan that I have supported would to any material extent change the nature of Social Security. I would say that the use of the word 'privatization' ... really is very misleading."
- GOP U.S. Representative John Thune — long a supporter of the Bush plan — said during his 1996 re-election campaign that "we need to give future generations the flexibility to invest a portion of their payroll taxes in a private retirement account." In his race to unseat South Dakota U.S. Senator Tim Johnson, Thune ran an ad claiming that his Democratic rival "supports privatizing Social Security."
- In his race to unseat Democratic U.S. Representative Bill Luther of Minnesota, GOP candidate John Kline has said he supports "individually controlled, voluntary personal retirement accounts." Recently, he demanded that radio stations pull ads saying he supports Social Security privatization.

Since few Republicans had quibbles with the word "privatization" when Bush was running for president, this new rhetoric might understandably confuse voters trying to divine what, exactly, the GOP stands for when it comes to Social Security reform. So for their benefit, let's say it plainly: No matter what they want to call it, most Republicans still support a plan that would divert Social Security taxes to create private stock market accounts.

Contributing Editor Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for Copley News Service. Comments on this article may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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Thanks Governor Davis! Thanks California!

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SB 1301 (Kuehl) The Reproductive Privacy Act - Guarantees the Constitutional protections of Roe v. Wade in state law and increases access to abortion, ensuring Californians have the right to exercise reproductive choice, now and in the future. **Senator Sheila Kuehl will run for re-election in Senate District 23 in 2004.**

AB 797 (Shelley) Clinic Worker Privacy - Protects the privacy of reproductive health care employees, volunteers, providers, and patients by allowing them to apply with the Secretary of State to keep their home addresses confidential. **Assembly Member Kevin Shelley is a candidate for Secretary of State.**

AB 1860 (Migden) Emergency Contraception for Victims of Sexual Assault - Requires hospital emergency rooms to dispense emergency contraception (EC) to rape victims upon request. **Assembly Member Carole Migden is a candidate for the Board of Equalization, District 1.**

AB 2194 (Jackson) Abortion Training - Requires residency programs in Obstetrics and Gynecology to comply with Accreditation Council of Graduate Medical Education guidelines that mandate training in abortion services. **Assembly Member Hannah-Beth Jackson is running for re-election in Assembly District 35.**

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